

## George Washington Papers, Series 3, Subseries 3C, Varick Transcripts, Letterbook 3

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JOHNSON**

Head Quarters, Middlebrook, March 1, 1779.

Dr. Sir: Sir Henry Clinton in order to supply the British prisoners at Fort Frederick and Winchester with necessaries and money has twice requested a passport for a vessel to go with the same to the port of Baltimore. As it is necessary the prisoners should be supplied, I have granted permission to a schooner to proceed to Hampton road. Where the cargo is to be received into some of the Bay craft, and sent to Alexandria or George Town under the conduct and escort of our own people, and from thence to it's places of destination. I refused the passport to Baltimore especially as it was twice pressed': upon me, as that port did not appear to be the nearest to Fort Frederick and Winchester, and as it might be made use of for the purpose of exploring a navigation, with which they may be in some measure unacquainted.

I have been thus particular, lest under colour of hard weather, the vessel should run towards Baltimore. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>13</sup>

[MD.H.S.]

**To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY**

[Middle Brook, March 1, 1779.]

Sir: I had the honor of writing you on the 13th Ult.

13. In the writing of Henry P. Livingston.

informing you of passports granted three british vessels to proceed as far as Hampton road in Virginia, subjecting the further conveyance of their cargoes to Charlotteville to your Excellency's directions.

In revising the letter, I find I have not been as explicit as I at first designed. My intention, in limiting the passports to Hampton road, and in putting the cargoes under your directions, was that it might be in your power effectually to prevent the vessels from proceeding any further; a restriction which I thought came more immediately under your notice and which appeared necessary from a number of considerations.

It is uncertain how far Britain may have altered her plan of carrying on the war; or what she may have in view against our defenceless towns on our sea coast. At all events, it is our policy to prevent any discoveries of the Navigation that leads to those places; and as much as possible the state and face of the country on the sea board. These ideas will naturally suggest the measures to be taken, when we are obliged to admit of their vessels, as in the present case.

In consequence of an application from Genl. Clinton, I have granted a passport for the Schooner Argyle, Magnus Crosbie Master, with necessaries and 150 guineas in specie for the use of the British prisoners at Fort Frederick and Winchester, but limited her as I have the others, to Hampton road in Virginia. I have also given a protection to 10,000 St. in specie in the Brig Lady Howe for the use of the Convention troops.

Gen. Clinton twice pressed, for an extension of the passport for the Schooner Argyle to the port of Baltimore in Maryland, but I have confined it to Hampton road for the reasons mentioned above. With the passport, I inclosed him a letter to your Excellency,<sup>14</sup> (lest the vessel should arrive at Hampton before this) in which I have requested you to dismiss the Schooner as soon as possible, and give orders for the reception of her Cargo in some of the Bay craft; to be conveyed to Alexandria or George Town, by our own people, and under a proper escort to its place of destination.

I hope you will excuse me for being so particular on this subject, and believe me Dear Sir etc.<sup>15</sup>

14. The letter to Governor Henry which Washington inclosed in his letter to Clinton was dated Mar. 1, 1779, and was a condensation of the above. The draft of it is in the *Washington Papers*.

15. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

On March 1 Washington also wrote a brief note to the President of Congress, telling of the attempt of the British to surprise Maxwell at Elizabethtown. About a thousand troops under the command of Lieut. Col. Thomas Stirling, of the Forty-second Foot, made the attempt. They burned a few houses, but the cattle and horses they collected were recovered by Maxwell, who pursued the enemy to their boats. His loss was 1 killed, 4 wounded, and 9 missing. Washington's letter, inclosing Maxwell's report, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

#### **To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, March 3, 1779.

Dear Sir: I was a few days ago honored with yours of the 18th ulto. inclosing the depositions of several inhabitants and civil Officers respecting ill treatment received from sundry Officers of the Army and a refusal in some of them to submit to the civil process. Major Call<sup>32</sup> and Mr. Heath two of the Officers are at Winchester in Virginia, in Winter Quarters a very considerable distance from hence, but if you are of opinion, that there is an immediate necessity for their appearance, to answer the charges against them I will order them down. Capt. Von Heer<sup>33</sup> and Mr. Skinner<sup>34</sup> are in Camp. From the conclusion of your letter, you seem willing to suffer the matter to be compromised by the parties to prevent further trouble. I rather wish that the several charges may be fully investigated, that the Officers may, if they are found guilty, be dealt with according to law

32. Maj. Richard Call, of the First Continental Dragoons.

33. Capt. Bartholomew von Heer.

34. James Skinner, who was acting as assistant quartermaster to the Seventh Maryland Regiment.

civil or military, in which ever Court they may be tried, or, if innocent, honorably acquitted. I therefore propose that the parties accusing Von Heer and Skinner should institute Civil suits against them, to which I will engage they shall submit, or if they will leave it to a military determination, I will order a Court Martial which will be the speediest method of bringing it to an issue.

I am every now and then embarrassed by disputes between the Officers and Inhabitants, which generally originate from the latter coming into Camp with liquor, selling it to the Soldiers, and, as the Officers alledge, taking Cloathing Provision or Accoutrements in pay; there being no civil redress, that I know of, for a grievance of this nature, the Officers undertake to punish those suspected of such practices, some times with reason, and probably sometimes without foundation. If there is no law of the State to prevent this kind of commerce between the people and the Soldiery, it would have a very good effect, to procure one, prohibiting an inhabitant from selling liquor to the Soldiers, within the limits of the Camp, without leave obtained from the commanding Officer of the quarter into which it may be brought, and imposing a penalty, recoverable by a summary process before a Magistrate, upon any person receiving Arms, Accoutrements, Cloathing or provisions from a soldier by way of purchase, or in exchange for any commodity brought into Camp for sale.<sup>35</sup>

An act of this kind would releive the considerate Officer from the disagreeable necessity in which he is often involved, of submitting to a grievance destructive of every military principle,

35. At this point the draft has the following, which has been stricken out: "As it is my most earnest wish to support the Civil authority to the fullest extent and I know of no more effectual method of doing this than pointing out a mode."

or undertaking to punish a Citizen by virtue of his own authority, and it will point out a mode of redress to others too willing perhaps to exercise military power when they have an opportunity

or excuse for so doing. I congratulate you on your late escape at Elizabeth Town,<sup>36</sup> as I am very sincerely. Dear Sir Your etc.

I return you the Affidavits agreeable to your request.<sup>37</sup>

**To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Head Quarters, March 3, 1779.

Sir: The president of Congress has transmitted me the Instructions of the Assembly of your State, to their Delegates, founded on a representation of the distresses of your western frontiers; and farther the opinion of a Committee of the house on the subject of their defence, together with the two Resolves made in consequence.

I am therefore to inform Your Excellency that offensive operations against the hostile tribes of Indians had been meditated and determined upon some time since; that preparations have been making for that purpose and will be carried into Execution at a proper season, if no unexpected event takes place, and the situation of our affairs on the Sea board will justify the undertaking; but the profoundest secrecy was judged necessary to the success of

36. Governor Livingston was absent from home at the time of the British raid of February 28, previously mentioned, and so escaped capture by the party of troops which seized his house.

37. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

such an Enterprise, for the following obvious reasons: that immediately upon the discovery of our design, the Savages would either put themselves in condition to make head against us, by a reunion of all their force and that of their allies, strengthened besides by succours from Canada, or elude the expedition altogether which might be effected at the expence only of a temporary evacuation of forests which we could not possess, and the destruction of a few settlements which they might speedily reestablish. Tho' this matter is less under the veil of secrecy than was originally intended,

Your Excellency will see the propriety of using such precautions as still remain in our power, to prevent its being divulged, and of covering such preparations as might tend to announce it, with the most specious disguise, that the enemys attention may not be awakened to our real object.

With respect to the force to be employed on this occasion, it is scarcely necessary to observe that the detaching a considerable number of Continental Troops on such a remote expedition, would too much expose the Country adjacent to the body of the Enemys Army.

There must therefore be efficacious assistance derived from the States whose frontiers are obnoxious to the inroads of the barbarians, and for this I intended at a proper time to make application. Your Excellency will be pleased to acquaint me, what force yours in particular can furnish in addition to the five Companies voted by Congress. When you think those five Companies, or the major part of them will probably be raised; What proportion of them might be drawn from

those Inhabitants who have been driven from the frontier, and what previous measures can be taken to engage them without giving an alarm. This class of people besides the advantages of knowledge of the Country, and the particular motives with which they are animated, will be most likely to furnish the Troops best calculated for this service.

They should be Corps of active Rangers who are at the same time expert marksmen and accustomed to the irregular kind of wood fighting practiced by the Savages. Men of this description, embodied under proper officers, would be infinitely preferable to a superior number of Militia unacquainted with this species of war and who would exhaust the magazines of Ammunition and provision without rendering any effectual service.

It will be a very necessary attention to avoid the danger of short enlistments; their service should be limited only by the expedition or a term amply competent to it, otherwise we may be exposed to having their engagements expire at some interesting, or perhaps critical juncture. I have the honor etc.<sup>38</sup>

38. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

Washington wrote again to Reed (March 4): "If Congress have not given you official notice of their intentions relative to the defense of the Western frontier, you will be pleased to regard my letter on the subject in the light of a private and confidential intimation." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

**To CAPTAIN STEPHEN SLOTT<sup>39</sup>**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, March 3, 1779.

Sir: It would give me great pleasure were I able to afford protection and assistance to every part of the Country, whether exposed to the common and open Enemy, or those lurking Villains who infest your neighbourhood. To cover the Country generally, I have been obliged to extend the Cantonments of the Army to such a length that it is already but too weak at every post, and was I to send off small detachments from those posts, for the purposes you require, it would defeat the intent of placing them where they are now stationed, which is, to cover the Country generally (as I before mentioned) and to be ready to assemble quickly, should an attack be made upon any quarter. A small Body of Militia well acquainted with the defiles in which, those people who infest you, conceal themselves, would, in my opinion, answer the purpose much better than continental troops who would be intirely at a loss after leaving the most common Roads. I am &c.<sup>40</sup>

39. Of the First Regiment, Orange County Militia. He lived at Smith's Clove.

40. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, March 4, 1779.

Dear Sir: The President of Congress has transmitted me your Excellency's letter to the delegates of New York, representing the calamitous situation of the North Western frontier of that State; accompanied by a similar application from the Pennsylvania Assembly, and a Resolve of the 25th. directing me to take the most effectual measures for the protection of the inhabitants and chastisement of the indians.

The Resolve has been in some measure anticipated by my previous dispositions for carrying on offensive operations against the hostile tribes of Savages. It has always been my intention, early to communicate this matter to Your Excellency in confidence, and I take occasion from the letter above mentioned, to inform you that preparations have some time since been making, and they will be conducted to the point of execution at a proper Season, if no unexpected accident prevents, and the situation of affairs on the Maritime frontier justifies the undertaking.

The greatest secrecy is necessary to the success of such an enterprise for the following obvious reasons....

I have only to add that I shall be happy to have the advantage of any Sentiments or Advice Your Excellency may be pleased to communicate relative to the expedition. I have the honor etc.

P.S. In Your Excellency's Letter to the Delegates you mention that you have not received the arrangement of the troops of your State.

It was transmitted me among the rest from the board of War, and I inclosed it in a letter of 22d Ulto. to Brigadr. Genl. J. Clinton desiring him to report to me any subsequent alterations that may have happened, and return the arrangement to me for completion; Congress having vested me with powers for that purpose. Commissions will finally be issued from the Board of War. If Your Excellency can hasten the termination of this business by affording any light or assistance it will be rendering a very great service.<sup>41</sup>



41. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens. The omitted portion is the same as Washington's letter to President Joseph Reed, Mar. 3, 1779, *q. v.* The original letter was in the New York State Library, according to Toner.

## **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, March 6, 1779.

Dr. Sir: The annexed Letter, written previous to the Receipt of Your Excellency's favor of the 3d inst. will serve as an Answer to the principal part of its contents.<sup>56</sup>

The intelligence I have to communicate to Your Excellency. is I apprehend no more than will have already been transmitted to you by the Delegates of your State.

It is in brief as follows: That the King of Spain has declared he will not be an unconcerned Spectator of the depredations committed on the property of his Ally; That the King of Naples and Sicily has honored the American Flag and ordered his ports to be opened to our commerce; That the City of Amsterdam has prepared a form of a Treaty with America, to be proposed to the States General; That the Empress of Russia has positively refused to enter into any subsidiary Treaty with Great Britain, and has motivated her Refusal in terms breathing a generous Regard to the rights of mankind.

I am exceedingly sorry to find that in the present State of our Magazines, I cannot give Your Excellency. any Encouragement to expect a supply of Arms from thence for the Levies of Your State.

If Your Excellency. is of opinion that Lt. Col. Willett<sup>57</sup> can be

56. See Washington's letter to Gov. George Clinton, Mar. 4, 1779, *ante*.

57. Lieut. Col. Marinus Willett, of the Third New York Regiment. He was voted a sword by Congress on Oct. 4, 1777, for his conduct at the siege of Fort Schuyler; transferred to the Fifth New

York Regiment in July, 1780; made colonel in November, 1780, to rank from December, 1779; retired in January, 1781; served subsequently as colonel of New York levies and militia.

serviceable in the way you mention and Genl. J. Clinton thinks he can be spared from the Regiment, I shall very readily consent to his absence. I am &c.<sup>58</sup>

## **To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, March 6, 1779.

Dear Sir: I do myself the honor to transmit you the Returns of the Officers and Men of the Virginia line who are intitled to the donation of six Months pay, except the Return of the 13th Regt. which is at Fort Pitt and that of Colo. Harrisons Regt. of Artillery. which has not been yet brought in.<sup>59</sup>

Upon consulting the Officers of your State, they were of opinion that the donation intended for the privates could be presented in no way so satisfactory as in money, as any article that could be purchased with the sum would appear so trifling that they might think they were imposed upon by the public. The Officers have added their subsistence money to their monthly pay. If it was not the intent of the state to include it, it may be easily deducted, being in a separate Column. As the Sum will be very considerable, I would advise that some Gentleman already upon the spot should be empowered to receive and pay the money, or that an Agent may be sent up for the express purpose.

58. The draft is in the writing of John Laurens. The original was in the New York State Library, according to Toner.

59. Washington forwarded Harrison's return, in a brief note (March 11), which is in the *Washington Papers*.

I have directed Genl. Scott to remain in Virginia to superintend the recruiting Service and have furnished him with the names of such Officers already in the State on command or Furlough as are

to be detained to assist him and march the Recruits to Camp as they are collected. He will wait upon your Excellency for your orders. I have the honor etc.<sup>60</sup>

**To VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BRYAN**

Head Quarters, Middlebrook, March 9, 1779.

Sir: I had the honor of your favor of the 5th Instant.

I am much obliged to you for that attention you discover to prevent any intercourse with the enemy, which might be attended with doubtful circumstances. I had taken my measures with the gentlemen which are the object of your information before I received your letter, and, restricted them to [our own lines at] Elizabeth Town point, where they had liberty to see their friends [if they could obtain leave to come over]. This I imagined a sufficient security against any consequences which might be apprehended from a more liberal indulgence. I have the honor, etc.<sup>87</sup>

60. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

87. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry. The words in brackets have been added by Washington.

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, March 12, 1779.

Sir: I have received the letter which your Excellency did me the honor to write the 7th inst: with the depositions of Capt. Lawrence and Thomas Minor, relative to Col. Holdridges seizure of the schooner General Howe.

As I am informed that a complaint on the same subject has been laid before Congress, and am ignorant what orders they may have given in consequence, I have given conditional directions to General Putnam, to have a [Court of Inquiry or] Court Martial held for the trial of Col.

Holdridge,<sup>10</sup> and in the mean time to have the Vessel and effects secured; unless Congress shall have ordered differently. I have the honor, etc.<sup>11</sup>

[H.S.P.]

10. Lieut. Col. Hezekiah Holdridge, of the Seventh Connecticut Regiment. He was retired in January, 1781.

11. In the writing of John Laurens.

**To WILLIAM DUER<sup>42</sup>**

Head Quarters, March 15, 1779.

Sir: The other day, you intimated to me a desire to have an interview with Mr. Elliot on Staten Island, with which I expressed my concurrence. My mind being at the time engaged on others matters, I did not advert to the resolve of Congress which makes the previous consent of the State necessary. Having since recollected the restraint, I am under from this circumstance, to prevent delay at the moment you might wish the interview to take place, I think it best to mention it to you, that you may have time to procure a line for the purpose from Governor Clinton. I should be glad it was in my power to save you this trouble, but as I am not at liberty to dispense with the resolve, so you will be sensible that to discriminate might give dissatisfaction and the precedent would make future applications embarrassing where there might be good reason to refuse. I am, etc.<sup>43</sup>

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

March 15[–16], 1779.

Sir: The 1st. April ensuing, the times of about a 1000 of

42. Duer had been Delegate to the Continental Congress from New York in 1778.

43. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

the troops under the command of Genl. McDougall will expire. These returning home will leave the Highland posts in a State much weaker than is proper for them to experience [in the approaching Season]. I shall endeavour to replace them as far as in my power. But in addition to what I may be able to do; it will be expedient to fall upon some plan by which the posts may receive succour from the neighbouring militia [at a moments warning]. Sensible of the inconveniences of calling this body out upon every occasion, I wish to avoid it on the present till it becomes absolutely necessary. I have therefore to request that a convention of signals may be agreed to between General McDougall and your Excellency by which means notice may be immediately communicated of the enemy's approach and beacons fired at proper places as Signals for the Militia to assemble to his support.

While this mode provides for the defence of the posts, it excludes as much as possible all unnecessary expence [and trouble to the Militia].

I have written to General McDougall on this subject, and am Sir. Your, etc.

P.S. March 16th

Since writing the above I have received the inclosed intelligence from Genl. Schuyler relative to a design against your frontier.

One of the letters which the General refers to has not come

to hand. But you will be able to judge from the transmitted accounts and the known policy and circumstances of the enemy what degree of confidence is to be given to the supposed incursion.

As there can be no addition of regular force, ordered at present to that now on the frontier [without disconcerting other measures], it will be necessary to take into consideration the best means to reinforce it with Militia [should you think the information sufficiently authentic]; or in case this

cannot be accomplished, to withdraw to the interior country, the stock and provision which seem the principal object with the enemy.

The total of the troops at the different posts along the frontier, amounts to 2012 men exclusive of Cortlands Regiment. These with a reinforcement of Militia might at least give the inhabitants a security till more efficacious measures can be pursued [at the proper Season].

The provision at all events should not be suffered to fall into their hands if it can be removed or protected and I make no doubt of such precautions on your part, as may appear adequate to this end. I am, &c.<sup>44</sup>

44. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry. The parts in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

#### **To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, March 23, 1779.

Dr. Sir: The possibility of the Enemy's making incursions into this State has suggested the expediency of fixing Signals at places calculated to communicate the most speedy alarm to the Country; and of appointing Convenient posts for the Militia to assemble at for Orders. I was therefore induced to request Lord Stirling a few days ago, from his more intimate acquaintance with the Country, to see the Field Officers of the Counties of Sommerset and Middlesex and to consult them upon the subject. There has been an interview upon the occasion, when alarm posts for those two Counties were agreed on, and the first Eight places in the paper No. 2,<sup>99</sup> as proper for establishing Signals at. These I propose to have erected immediately by parties from the Army. It may be also expedient to extend the plan, so as to comprehend a greater part of the State; and for this purpose a further number of Signals is added for other conspicuous Hills and Mountains, which appear to me, judicious and well disposed. Your Excellency may incline to enlarge the plan still further, so as to derive succours

99. In the Force Transcripts of *Washington Papers* (*Continental Army Returns*, no. 36, vol. 3, P. 119) is a paper marked "No. 2. Signals on which the Militia are immediately to assemble" which locates signals nos. 1–23, which apparently was one of the inclosures in this letter. The original should be in the Adjutant General's Office, War Department, Washington, D.C.

from Sussex and Orange Counties, or at least to spread the alarm more extensively should it be requisite.

The first Eight Signals, and also those marked No. 8b No. 9 and 16, I will have erected. About the rest your Excellency will be pleased to give orders if you approve them.

Besides the Alarm posts above, there are some mentioned to include the Counties of Essex, Bergen and Hunterdon, as in paper No. 1.<sup>1</sup> If these are deemed proper, Your Excellency, I am persuaded, will give such directions to the Commanding Officers of Militia, respecting them, as may be necessary.

I shall be much obliged by a list of the Generals of Militia, their districts, and of the places where they may be found in cases of emergency.<sup>2</sup>

I had the Honor to receive Your Excellency's Letter of the 9th. by Mr. Van Nest<sup>3</sup> and was much concerned for the occasion of it.<sup>4</sup> I wrote immediately, after the receipt of it, to Genl. Wayne and directed him and Major Fishburn to return to Camp by the time you requested. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>5</sup>

**To PRESIDENT MESHECH WEARE**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, March 24, 1779.

Sir: The present situation of the Enemy and the

1. No. 1 is in the Force Transcripts, as above, p. 117, and is headed “Alarm posts, or places where the Militia of New Jersey are to assemble on the first Alarm, which will given by fires on the Mountains at the places agreed on.”

A transcript marked “No. 3.”, which directs the erection of signals by Knox's Artillery, and Woodford's, Scott's, and Muhlenberg's brigades, of the Virginia line, and St. Clair's division, is in the Force Transcripts, as above, p. 121.

2. “Our Generals at present are, Major General Dickinson, and Brigadiers Winds and Heard. General Dickinson I believe statedly resides in Maryland, but has expressed his readiness to repair to this State upon the first intelligence of its being invaded. General Winds lives at Rockaway in County of Morris; and General Heard at Rocky Hill in Sommerset.”— *Governor Livingston to Washington*, Mar. 30, 1779. Livingston's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

3. Abraham Van Nest, jr.

4. The dispute was over the occupancy of quarters, in which a constable, in attempting to serve a warrant on an officer, refused to show the warrant to General Wayne.

5. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. A second draft, in the writing of Henry P. Livingston, and dated Mar. 22, 1779, is also in the *Washington Papers*.

appearances that hostilities are still to continue make it necessary that we should know our Resources with tolerable certainty, and the aid that may be reasonably expected from the Militia, in case it should be requisite. To this end I must take the liberty of soliciting your good Offices, and to request that you will inform me, by the first safe occasion that shall present itself, what force of well armed Militia, rank and file, may, in your judgment, be drawn from New Hampshire by the first of June for three or four Months, if the measure should be found expedient; and what part of them, on account of their contiguity, may be assembled at Co'os by that period, to act for the same term, and, in such manner, as circumstances may point out. You will readily perceive the necessity there is for my obtaining good information in this respect, in order to determine on some System of



conduct, and such as there will be a prospect of supporting when adopted, and will therefore, I am persuaded, excuse the trouble of the application. I have the Honor etc.<sup>18</sup>

[M.H.S.]

18. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The same letter was sent to President Jeremiah Powell, of the Massachusetts Council, and Gov. Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut. The letter to Trumbull did not contain the closing apologetic clause.

On March 24 Washington wrote to Col. Thomas Procter, acknowledging receipt of his evidences of rank and calling attention to the resolve of Congress of Mar. 15, 1779, respecting returns. This brief note is in the *Washington Papers*.

#### **To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, March 26, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I lately recd. from Colo. Proctor,<sup>25</sup> a Return of the Names and Ranks of the Officers of his Regiment, which I called for in order to endeavour to settle the relative Rank of the line of Artillery. I observe that Colo. Proctor styles his Regt. "The Pennsylvania State Regt. of Artillery" from whence I am led to imagine that the Regiment may have been, by some late act of Congress, returned to the particular service of the State. I shall be glad to be informed precisely upon this point, because if it is again a State Regt. I do not look upon myself at liberty to interfere with it, or to take the arrangement of the Rank of its Officers into consideration.<sup>26</sup> I have the honor &c.<sup>27</sup>

#### **\*To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Middlebrook, March 28, 1779.

Dear Sir: The enemy have some enterprize in view. New London, on Acct. of the Frigates in the River, and because Boats have been preparing at the East end of long Island, and troops for some time past drawing thitherward, is supposed to be the

25. Col. Thomas Procter.

26. Procter's Pennsylvania artillery was taken into the Continental service in July, 1777, as the Fourth Continental Artillery, and continued as such until 1783.

27. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. "Upon a revisal of the Return of the Names and Ranks of the officers of your Regt. I find it intitl'd 'the Pennsylvania State Regt. of Artillery.' I shall therefore be glad to know whether the Regiment has by any late Resolve of Congress been returned to the Service of the State, or whether you only meant to distinguish it by that name from the others. I wish to be precisely informed upon this point, because if you again belong to the State, I cannot with any propriety undertake to interfere with or take the Rank of the Officers into consideration."— *Washington to Col. Thomas Procter*, Mar. 26, 1779. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Reed answered this letter (March 29): "The Appellation which Col. Procter has given his Regiment is by no means a proper one. ... The late Publication of the Committee of Congress gives very great Dissatisfaction; indeed it must be truly wonderful that the two great Events of Trenton and Princeton are wholly unnoticed tho our Enemies date all their Misfortunes from that Period and indeed it is equally astonishing that in such a Compliment the Name of the Commander in Chief should not be mentioned from one End to the other. I do not recollect any Instance of the like in History." Reed's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Reed was referring to the publication by Congress of *Observations on the American Revolution*, issued in February, 1779, which had for its original purpose the setting forth to the public of the proceedings and reasonings of Congress in connection with the British peace commissioners.

object; probably it is so. But the Season is now approaching when either negotiation or vigorous exertions must take place of inactivity; and as General Clinton doubtless will, in the latter case, and in pursuance of the predatory plan talked of (by the Minority and not disavowed by Administration) attempt something that will give eclat to his Arms, I should not be much surprized if some vigorous effort was used against Annapolis, Baltimore, or even Philadelphia itself.<sup>49</sup> I do not mean with a view to hold either of these places but to plunder, or destroy them. General Clinton (under pretence of visiting the Troops) is now at the East end of long Island, with Sir Willm. Erskine. Admiral Gambler is gone to Rhode Island, and one of my most intelligent corrispondants informs me it is surmised that the Troops at that place are to be withdrawn. Transports with Provisions have gone from New York towards Rhode Island, and a number of Privateers have been detained from their cruizes and sent along with them. Upon the whole, I cannot help suspecting that the preparations have been too long making, too formidable, and too open for any enterprize against New London for wch place the fears of the People are up; and as we cannot tell where it *may* fall, we should, as far as human prudence, and the means in our hands will enable us, be guarded at all points; the sole purpose therefore of this Letter is to suggest for your consideration, the expediency of adopting, in time, some general plan (without taking notice of the present suggestion, thereby creating probably, unnecessary fears) for giving an alarm to the Militia of the country, and for fixing on places of

49. Sparks quotes from a letter from Germain to Sir Henry Clinton, Nov. 4, 1778: "The keeping the coasts of the enemy constantly alarmed, the destroying of their ships and magazines, and by that means preventing the rebels becoming a formidable maritime power and obstructing the commerce of his Majesty's subjects, are objects of so much importance, that a war of this sort, carried on with spirit and humanity, would probably induce the rebellious provinces to return to their allegiance; at least, it would prevent their sending out that swarm of privateers, the success of which has enabled and encouraged the rebels to persevere in their revolt."

rendezvous for them; that in cases of sudden emergency they may quickly assemble, free from tumult or disorder; for be assured, if any thing is attempted against the City of Philadelphia, the

preparations for it will be hid under the darkest veil, and the movement when the plan is ripe for execution, will be rapid.

As my motive to this suggestion is good, I will offer no apology for the freedom, but assure you that I am, etc.

**\*To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Middle brook, March 29, 1779.

Dr. Sir: Since mine of yesterday I have received the inclosed extract of a Letter from General Maxwell at Elizabeth Town, which I send lest the suggestion contained (in my letter) should have made a deeper impression than I intended, which was no more than to hint at the advantages which might result from a systematick plan of assembling the Militia at certain points on any sudden immergency and with more expedition and less expence than it could be effected in the ordinary course of proceeding. Such a measure wou'd, I am certain, be eligable in one point of view, but how far it can be planned without giving an alarm to our friends and setting the numerous tribe of Speculators and

stock jobbers to work you can judge better of than I. I am, etc.

**To MRS. MARIA FARMER<sup>84</sup>**

Head Quarters, Middlebrook, April 2, 1779.

Madam: Were there no resolve of Congress, making it necessary to obtain the governor's concurrence, when an inhabitant of any of the States is desirous to pass into the enemy's lines I should have been happy in complying with your request.

But as there is such a resolution, Governor Livingston's consent becomes a requisite; you will therefore be pleased to procure this, when you shall have my immediate permission to return to New York. I am, etc.<sup>85</sup>

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, Middlebrook, April 5, 1779.

Dr. Sir: The time not being very remote in which our

84. A widow, then living in New Brunswick, N. J. She had property in New York City. Her letter, dated March 24, requesting leave to go into New York and return, is in the *Washington Papers*.

85. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

intended operations must commence it is necessary to put [some of the] troops designed for the expedition, in motion to the several points, from whence they are to operate. In consequence of this, the troops now at Minisinck will be immediately ordered from that post. As this circumstance may create apprehensions in the minds of the people for their safety, and of course check the spirit of agriculture, I would submit to your Excellencys consideration the precaution of keeping up a proper confidence, by means of a small party of Militia stationed in this quarter.

Altho' the country will, in effect, derive greater security and protection in the removal of the troops than by their continuance, yet as it may not be altogether politic to make a whole frontier sensible of this, you will judge of the propriety of the measure for avoiding it.

I have written to Governor Livingston on the subject, submitting to his discretion the calling in a party of Militia on the troops leaving the Minisinck.

I would just beg leave to observe that I have not received your sentiments on my letters of the 15th and 16th Ultimo, and am Dr. Sir Your, etc.

P.S. After the closing the above, I had the pleasure of your two favors of the 18th and 21st of March  
Ulto.<sup>4</sup>

4. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, April 5, 1779.

Dear Sir: I have been honored with yours of the 30th. March.

As I shall be very soon under the necessity of removing the troops at present at and in the neighbourhood of the Minisink settlement, I thought it advisable to give this notice to your Excellency, that you may, if you judge proper, order some Militia to occupy their posts. I have wrote to Governor Clinton upon the same subject. Altho' the move which the troops are about to make, will in fact give as much security to the frontier as by remaining where they are, yet perhaps the inhabitants cannot be made sensible of it, and as the re-settlement and cultivation of that fine Country ought by all means to be encouraged, I submit it to your Excellency's judgment to determine whether any measure will so effectually answer those desirable ends as ordering a few Militia to give the inhabitants protection. I am, &c.<sup>8</sup>

**To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Head Quarters, Middlebrook, April 5, 1779.

Dear Sir: Your favr. of the 29th. March reached me a day

8. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

or two ago. I cannot conceive from whence can arise the antipathy of Colo. Proctor and His Officers to the Uniform adopted by all the other Regiments of Artillery. In every service it is customary to distinguish Corps by particular Uniforms, and as Black and Red has been pitched upon for that of the American Continental Artillery, it is unreasonable in him to make any objections. As Blue and Red has hitherto been the Uniform of his Regt. I imagine the Officers are in general provided with Cloathing of that kind for this year; and it would therefore be convenient to make a change at present. But I would wish you to inform Colo. Proctor, that it is expected he will conform next year. It is good policy to diversify our Uniform as much as possible, as thereby the demand for any particular colour and of course the price is decreased. Blue Cloth is now higher priced than any other (except scarlet and Buff) because such numbers prefer it. By one of the regulations for the establishment of the Corps of Engineers, they are strictly enjoined not to communicate their plans or surveys to any other than such public Bodies as are proper to be intrusted with them, the Commander in chief or commanding General under whom they may be acting. This I imagine will be a sufficient obligation upon General Du Portail without my giving him the hint you mention. Mr. Tilghman will give you such information respecting Mr. Shewell<sup>9</sup> as he recollects. I am, etc.<sup>10</sup>

9. Robert Shewell, from Philadelphia, whom Reed said was ordered out of camp by Washington in the spring of 1778 as a dangerous or disaffected character.

On April 5 Tilghman wrote to President Reed that Shewell, to the best of his recollection, had come to the camp at Valley Forge and given intelligence of the British preparations to leave Philadelphia and that he was present at a parade of the daily guards or at a brigade drill, which was considered improper by some officers who knew him, or knew his character, “which gave him an opportunity of making observations, and I am informed that he was ordered immediately off the Ground, and I believe out of the Camp.” Tilghman's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

10. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JOHNSON**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, April 8, 1779.

Sir: I have been honored with yours of the 26th March inclosing a Resolve of the House of Delegates for the incorporation of parts of the German Battalion and Rifle Corps into a Regiment, and another, for forwarding the recruiting Service. I also at the same time received from the president of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Delegates two Resolves; one empowering me fully to settle the Rank of the Officers of the Maryland line, the other allowing half pay for life to such Officers as shall remain in service during the War.

By an allotment of the quota of troops to be raised by each State, made by Congress the 26th Feby. 1778, the German Battalion was wholly attached to the State of Maryland and considered as her 8th. Regt. since which it hath done duty in that line.

Had not this been the case, the incorporation of such parts of that Regiment and Rifle Corps as are deemed properly to belong to Maryland would still be attended with the greatest inconveniences, particularly in regard to reconciling the Ranks of the Officers. Colo. Rawlins and most of his being elder than Colo. Weltner, and those of the German, would supersede them upon incorporation. Indeed Colo. Weltner would not only be superseded but he must be supernumerary.

In short, the difficulties attending the measure recommended are more than can be conceived, and I am convinced by experience that it cannot be carried into execution without totally deranging the German Regiment.

In January last, Congress, to make some provision for Colo. Rawlins and his Officers, resolved that he should increase his remaining Men (who are not more than 70 or 80) to three Companies to be commanded by him as a separate Corps. The times of most of the old Men are near expiring and whether they will reinlist I cannot say.

I entertain a very high opinion of the merits of Colo. Rawlins and his Officers, and have interested myself much in their behalf. It is to be regretted that they were not provided for in the States to which they belong, when the Army was new modelled in 1776; but as they were not, after a variety



of plans had been thought of, that above mentioned was esteemed the most eligible, and indeed the only one that could be adopted, as the introduction of those Gentlemen into the line would have been impracticable.

I have, agreeable to the powers vested in me, appointed a Board of General Officers to take into consideration and report to me the rank of the Maryland line. I do not imagine that it will be possible to give general satisfaction, but I am convinced, that the Gentlemen, who have the Business in hand, will pay the strictest attention to the claims of all parties, and give the most disinterested

decision. Whatever that decision may be, I hope it may be considered by the State as definitive, and that they will not in future pay any regard to the importunities of those who may be discontented with the arrangement which is about to be made.

I have sent off as many Officers, as can be possibly be spared, with recruiting Serjeants Drums and Fifes. They are directed to wait upon your Excellency for instructions and Money. I have but one matter to recommend, which is, that the Officers be ordered in the most express manner not to enlist any British Deserter under the penalty of being obliged to refund the Bounty, as the recruit, upon being discovered to be a Deserter, will be dismissed the service. Those people not only debauch our other troops, but are sure to desert again to the enemy upon the appearance of an offer of pardon, or any the least encouragement, [and more than probable carry others with them.] I have the honor, &c.<sup>24</sup>

[M.H.S.]

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, Middlebrook, April 9, 1779.

D. Sir: In the close of my letter of the 5th Instant, I had the pleasure to acknowledge your favors of the 18th and 21st Ultimo.

Besides the 80 battalions of Infantry, it is

24. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The phrase in brackets was added to the draft by Washington.

the intention of Congress to preserve as many of the 16 additional and other corps as can be kept up by means of incorporation, or continued in their present condition, considering at the same time such of the men composing these extra Regiments or corps as a part of the quota of the troops of the State in which they may have been respectively raised.

Agreeable to the direction of Congress I have incorporated Colonel Malcom and Spencers Regiments; But Col. Warner's having been raised for a particular purpose I imagine it will remain as it is for the present.

Such precautions as you have hinted, will be taken for the better security of the frontiers and protection of our magazines. I am, etc.<sup>33</sup>

**To DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER AND WILLIAM FITZHUGH<sup>45</sup>**

Head Quarters, Middlebrook, April 10, 1779.

Gentlemen: I have been honored with your letter of the 26th Ulto. and its inclosures.

The length of time in which the rank has been fluctuating and undecided, by producing in some measure a number of claims, gives apprehension of complaint from what

33. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

On April 9 Washington wrote to Maj. Joseph Prowell, of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment, that Patron's regiment was to march immediately to Wyoming, there to be incorporated with the regiment that was late Hartley's and that Malcom's was to join and incorporate with Spencer's. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Also on this same day (April 9) Washington wrote briefly to Capt. John Gregory, of the Fifteenth Virginia Regiment, that his resignation would be accepted when his public accounts were settled. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

45. President of the Senate and Speaker of the Assembly of Maryland, respectively.

ever mode may be now adopted for determining the several disputes.

However, to afford the utmost latitude for their consideration, I have ordered a board of general officers to sit, to hear and report on respective claims, precedencies, and the rank of the whole line, which I hope will enable me to complete a final arrangement as much as possible to the general satisfaction.

The officers cannot but be pleased in the provision which you have made them; not only for the prospect of ease which it promises, but that honorable distinction of part service, when they shall resume the happy character of citizen. I am, etc.<sup>46</sup>

#### **To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, April 12, 1779.

Dr. Sir: A writ having been served upon an Officer of the Maryland line by one Dickinson for impressing a small quantity of Forage by order of Lieut. Colo. Adams,<sup>66</sup> he drew up the inclosed state, to shew me the necessity which he was under of having recourse to that method of procuring the Forage, and the offers which he afterwards made to satisfy the owner. I confess it is extremely difficult to draw a line and leave anything to the discretion of an Officer where a possitive law exists; but there are

46. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

66. Lieut. Col. Peter Adams, of the Seventh Maryland Regiment. He was commissioned lieutenant colonel commandant of the First Maryland Regiment in August, 1779; transferred to the Third Maryland Regiment in January, 1781; served to April, 1783.

cases, in which it is almost impossible for an Officer to go thro' all the forms required; and if Colo. Adams's representation is to be relied on, his situation was of that kind. The Officers complain that there is too general a disposition, to refuse Forage, prevailing among the Inhabitants, and they think it extremely hard to be subjected to the expence and trouble of civil suits when the exigencies of the service absolutely oblige them to impress by their own authority. I make no doubt but they may sometimes exert their power in an unjustifiable manner, but it may also be presumed that the inhabitants may be in their turn to blame, by obstinately refusing to part with what they can spare unless regularly compelled.

I am determined upon my part ever to discountenance and check any thing that looks like a wanton and unnecessary violation of the law by the Military, and it is to be wished that the Gentlemen in the Civil departments would, upon applications being made to them for redress, endeavour to investigate the causes of complaint, and if the Officers appear to have really acted upon the necessity of the case, advise an amicable compromise, rather than a suit. I have the honor, &c.<sup>67</sup>

**To EDWARD HINMAN<sup>68</sup>**

Head Quarters, Middlebrook, April 12, 1779.

Sir: I herewith send you the papers which you

67. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

68. A magistrate of Litchfield County, Conn. His letter of April 5, complaining of Col. Moses Hazen's conduct in a matter of the impress of teams, is in the *Washington Papers*.

transmitted by your letter of the 5th instant for my information in Colonel Hazen's case.

Although it has always been my endeavor to prevent incroachments on the rights of the citizen, I have to regret that any dispute should happen with an officer of the army. But as your complaint will come more naturally before the officer commanding the troops in your State, you will be pleased therefore, to refer the particulars to him. He has full powers to take cognizance of the misconduct of the officers under his command. Moreover, his nearness to the transaction gives him a better opportunity of knowing all its circumstances, and hearing both parties, while my remoteness must render me less competent to this purpose. I am, etc.<sup>69</sup>

#### **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, April 17, 1779.

Dear Sir: It is determined, that the force, which is to move by way of the Mohawk River, upon the intended Expedition, shall rendezvous at Conojoharie by the 10th of May. This will oblige me to call off the detachments from General Clintons Brigade which are now at Saratogha, Lake George and some other places upon your

69. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

northern Frontier. Warners Regiment will remain, but by a Letter which I received from General Schuyler dated the 3d instant he seems apprehensive that the northern frontier will be very much exposed, while we are acting to the Westward, except a greater force is kept up in that quarter. From our situation in respect to numbers, no regular force except Warner's can be spared for that Service, and I must therefore request that you will order such a disposition of Militia to be made, as will afford the necessary security. Genl. Schuyler can better inform you than I can of the numbers requisite for this purpose and of the places at which they should be stationed.

You will oblige me by issuing orders for the Militia to relieve the Northern posts as speedily as possible, as I would wish the troops, in garrison at them, to be at Conojohara punctually by the 10th of May. I have the honor, etc.<sup>27</sup>

**To PRESIDENT JEREMIAH POWELL<sup>39</sup>**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, April 19, 1779.

Sir: I had the honor of your letter of the 31st. Ultimo. Since the last general muster has been collected, a

27. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

39. Of the Massachusetts Council.

number of the soldier's times of inlistment have expired; were therefore, the digest to be made from this, it would exhibit an erroneous state of the men now in service. In order to obviate this, and the delay which would arise from waiting for another general return I have directed Major General Gates, Genl McDougal and Brig: Gen: Clinton (under whom all the Massachusetts troops now are) forthwith to transmit the Council an exact return, from the deputy muster masters attached to their respective commands.

I think it necessary to observe, to the Council that the detachments, which early in the campaign, must be drawn from the main army; added to its present reduced condition, will require the utmost exertions of the States to keep our force in any degree respectable. This I am persuaded will point out the propriety of hastening your troops into the field, by such measures, as shall appear best calculated, to obtain this purpose in the shortest time. And from the zeal and uniform endeavours you have heretofore shewn, I have every reason to hope a continuance of the same on the present occasion. I have the honor, etc.<sup>40</sup>

40. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

**To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, April 19, 1779.

Dear Sir: I have been honored with yours of the 14th. inst. I shall not fail to recommend to the Officer, who will command upon the Susquehannah, the cultivation of a good understanding between the settlers at Wyoming and the inhabitants of Northumberland County. Upon estimating the force necessary to be employed in the intended expedition, so as to give the most probable assurance of success, I find, that it will require more troops than can possibly be spared from the Continental Army, without weakening our main Body to that degree, that it will be ever liable to be insulted, if not materially injured by the Enemy, should they move out. I am therefore under the necessity of making application to the State of Pennsylvania for the aid of six hundred Militia, including the Companies of Rangers, to continue in service, three Month's from the 1st June if the laws or any power vested in the executive Council will authorize the calling them out for so long a time. They must come provided with Arms, as, from the exhausted State of the Continental Magazines, they cannot be supplied from thence. You will oblige me by letting me know as early as possible whether this demand can be complied with, fully in point of term of service, and if not, for the longest time that the Men may be depended upon. They are to rendezvous at Sunbury by the 10th of May.

I imagine the Western Militia will be called out upon this service. They are infinitely to be preferred on many accounts, but particularly from their being used to the Indian mode of War, which is apt to make very fatal impressions upon Men not acquainted with that kind of Enemy.

I would not presume to nominate the Officer who should take the command of this Body of Men, but I hope I shall stand excused when I mention Brig: Genl: Potter. From my knowledge of his Abilities, and his acquaintance with the kind of Service upon which these Men are to be employed, I should be very happy should the State think proper to confer the command upon him.

Upon the several hints given to me of the suspicions of Pattersons character I have taken measures to prevent him from being mischievous should he be so inclined, and I have desired that Colo. Cox may give him a caution against making a needless parade of the employ which he is in. He has nothing to do in the Quarter Master's department.

If I may be allowed to form any judgment, from the actual Returns and Reports of the Commissaries, of the quantity of Flour in the Middle department, I should suppose that the Army must be much distressed for the Article of Bread should such an exportation, as I imagine the State of Massachusetts will require, be allowed. If the quantity wanted to the Eastward is ascertained, the Commissary General can better determine whether any or what part of it can be spared without injury to the Service.

By a letter which I have received from Genl. McIntosh dated at Fort Pitt the 3d instant, I have the pleasure to find that he had returned to that place after having relieved Fort Laurens and thrown a proper supply of provision into it. He adds that he had found some of the Indian tribes more friendly than he expected. A cooperation by the troops at Fort Pitt and in that quarter not being deemed either very practicable or of much use, the Force at present there, will remain. This I hope, with the assistance of the Militia, should there be occasion, will cover your Western Frontier and that of Virginia. I have the Honor &c.<sup>41</sup>

## **To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED AND THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, April 20, 1779.

Gentlemen: I have, in obedience to a Resolve of Congress of the 3d instant, directed a Court Martial to be held at this Camp on the 1st. May next for the trial of Major General Arnold on the 1st. 2d. 3d & 5th Charges exhibited against him by the supreme executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania.



You will therefore be pleased to furnish the Court at the above time with the proper evidences in support

41. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

of the Charges. I have the honor, etc.<sup>63</sup>

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, April 22, 1779.

Dr. Sir: The inclosed is a letter<sup>75</sup> to you in your official character; this you will be pleased to receive as private and confidential, to explain, for your own satisfaction the reasons which will oblige me to draw off Maxwells brigade from its present position and will prevent my replacing them by other troops.

I have for a long time past been preparing for a decisive expedition against the six nations, which is now approaching fast to the period fixed for its execution. The short term of service for which the militia can be drawn out by the laws of the different states concurring with other obvious reasons has determined me to employ on this service, almost wholly Continental troops. The force of the savages, with the aid they may derive from the British garrisons on the lakes, makes it necessary to give a sufficient probability of success to the undertaking, to detach so considerable a force from this quarter as will leave the main army rather in a delicate situation. To provide for its security as far as possible, I shall be under a necessity of

63. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

75. See Washington's letter to Gov. William Livingston, Apr. 23, 1779, *post*.

keeping it in a collected state; and this will of course oblige me to afford less cover to the country, than has been done for some time past, 'till our numbers can be rendered more respectable, by the

accession of the levies, which I hope will be raised in the different states towards completing their batalions. It is very disagreeable to me to throw any burthen upon the militia at this season of the year, but you will readily perceive my dear Sir, that it is not in my power to avoid it.

You will also perceive that I mean to withdraw the Monmouth detachment. An additional motive for it is that the enemy appear to have a number of active emissaries in that part of the country who have been very successful in corrupting our men. An alarming spirit of mutiny and desertion has shown itself upon several occasions, and there is no saying how extensively the infection might spread.

Sensible as you will be of the importance of keeping our true situation a profound secret to the enemy, I am persuaded you will make a cautious use of what I now communicate. With very great esteem and regard, I am, etc.<sup>76</sup>

#### **To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Middlebrook, April 23, 1779.

Sir: Some operations of the army which are in

76. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

contemplation, will oblige me before the 10th of next month to withdraw Gen: Maxwells brigade from its present position; and it will not be in my power to replace it by other troops. I shall also be obliged to recall the detachment from Monmouth.

I have thought it necessary to give your Excellency this early notice, that you may take such measures in consequence as you shall judge expedient to give security to those parts of the country which these troops are now posted to cover. With the greatest respect and esteem.<sup>88</sup>

#### **To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED AND THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL**

Headquarters, Middlebrook, April 26, 1779.

Gentlemen: I am honored with your letters of the 24th<sup>4</sup> and 25th; to which I beg leave to defer a particular answer till another opportunity, which shall not be delayed.

The present is barely to inform you, that the period appointed for the trial of Major General Arnold agreeable to the wish of Council is postponed to a later day, which will be notified in my next. I have the honor, etc.<sup>5</sup>

88. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. (See Washington's letter to Gov. William Livingston, Apr. 22, 1779, *ante*.)

4. The letter of April 24, from the President and Council (in the *Washington Papers*), stated that the only charge they exhibited against Arnold to Congress was “that of appropriating the publick waggons of the state to private uses.” They claimed also that their witnesses were at a distance, that two officers whom they requested Congress to hold in Philadelphia were permitted to go to Carolina, and that Colonel Fitzgerald, another witness, was in Virginia.

5. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

## **To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, April 27, 1779.

Sir: In a line of yesterday, as I did not think it proper to detain the express and delay the notice then given 'till I could prepare a more explicit answer. I only briefly acknowledged the receipt of your two letters in council of the 24th and 25th instant, to which I should have added that of the 26th. I am now to enter into a consideration of their contents, and to offer such particular explanations as may seem necessary to satisfy any doubts which the honorable the Council may entertain on the subjects they respectively discuss.

The first relates wholly to the trial of Major General Arnold. It is with concern I observe that the Council appear to have misconceived the intention of the notification contained in my letter of the 20th, and to imagine that I had taken up the matter in a different point of view from that in which it is considered by Congress and by themselves; placing them in the light of a party in the prosecution. I flatter myself on a revisal of my letter and of the resolve of Congress on which it is founded, this opinion will be readily retracted. The resolve of which the inclosed is a copy directs me to appoint “a Court Martial for the trial of General Arnold on the first, second, third and fifth articles contained in the resolves of the executive council of Pennsylvania and to notify them of it with a request that they would furnish the evidence to the Court.”

My letter was intended as a simple compliance with this order, and accordingly informs, that I had directed a court to be held at this camp on the first of may next for the trial of Major General Arnold, on 1.2.3 and 5th charges exhibited against him by the council, requesting that they would be pleased to furnish the Court at the appointed time with the proper evidence in support of the charges. The terms of this letter were such as, in common speaking, naturally presented themselves to express what was intended; because the charges there said to be exhibited by the Council, though in their present form, they are instituted by the authority of Congress, originated in the Resolves of council, of which they compose a part. But if they contain any ambiguity, or seem to imply more than those of the resolve, it is intirely to be ascribed to inadvertancy and to a want of precision. It will easily be seen that they could not be meant to convey the idea supposed, when it is recollected, to be a fundamental maxim, in our military trials, that the Judge advocate prosecutes in the name and in behalf of the United States. But, as it is customary and reasonable, for those who exhibit informations on which charges are founded to produce or point out the Witnesses necessary to support them, and enable public justice to operate; on this principle, I presume, Congress directed the notification which has been made; and in the same spirit, it was my intention to convey it. Further than this, I had no idea of considering the council as a party.

My motives for appointing the trial to take place

at so short a period were these. The season is fast advancing when we shall be under a necessity of taking the field; and as it is at most times very inconvenient (in the present state of the army impracticable) to spare a sufficient number of officers of high rank to compose a court at a distance from camp, and almost equally so to be carrying on a long and perhaps complicated trial in the midst of the operations of a campaign, it was my wish to bring it on at once in hopes it might be concluded before they began. This was one reason and to me a weighty one; another was, that General Arnold had written to me in a very pressing manner, requesting the trial might commence as soon as possible. Uninformed of the particular circumstances which might require delay and considering it as my duty to accelerate the execution of justice as well to the public, in case of real guilt as to the individual if innocent; I could have no objection to complying with his request. As the affair had been a considerable time in agitation, I took it for granted the Council were acquainted with the order of Congress for appointing a court. I concluded the witnesses would be prepared, and that little time was necessary to collect them. The remoteness of the persons alluded to, I could not foresee. The affair of the two officers is entirely new to me, nor did it ever occur to my mind as probable, that the Gentlemen, whom I conjecture to be hinted at, were intended to be summoned as witnesses on the side of the prosecution.<sup>14</sup>

I can assure the Council with the greatest truth, that “substantial justice not a mere formality will

14. Majs, Matthew Clarkson and David S. Franks, who had been Arnold's aides.

undoubtedly be my object on this occasion.” I shall endeavor to act and I wish to be considered, merely as a public executive officer alike unbiased by personal favour or resentment, and having no other end in view than a faithful, ingeneious discharge of his duty. To obviate the remotest appearance of a different disposition as well as to give the freest operation to truth, I have determined to defer the trial 'till the 1st of June<sup>15</sup> if it is thought the most material Witnesses can be produced by that time, or 'till the 1st of July, if it is deemed necessary to wait the arrival of the two officers from Carolina.

I am therefore to request of the Council information on this head, and that they will be pleased to point out without delay the persons who are to be called as Witnesses in the affair. Where my authority will produce their attendance, it is my duty to exercise it; where I have no right to order I can only request; but where any citizens of the State of Pennsylvania are concerned, I doubt not the council will employ its influence and authority to induce their appearance.

As to the officers who may compose the Court Martial, I trust the respectability of their characters will put their honor and impartiality out of the reach of suspicion.

The expence of Witnesses, as the prosecution is in behalf of the United States, I take it for granted will be borne by them. Whether it will be possible for the Court to sit at or near Philadelphia depends upon circumstances which cannot now be foreseen; at this time it could not by any means be done,

15. At this point the draft has the following crossed out: “though it were much to be wished it could come to a speedier decision, as this delay will not only be thought a hardship by general Arnold, but may be productive of several military inconveniences.”

if it can be done, hereafter without prejudice to the service it will be very agreeable to me. The mode of conducting the trial will be strictly conformable to the orders of Congress, and to the sentiments I have now expressed; and I hope I will not be thought in any degree to deviate from the respect due to the Council.

It gives me much pain to find by your letter of the 26th,<sup>16</sup> that there is not a better prospect of aid from the Militia of your State in the intended Indian expedition. The drawing out the militia into service will no doubt interfere with the culture of the lands, and it were to be wished it could be avoided. But the reduced state of our regiments and the little apparent probability of augmenting them will not allow me to prosecute a vigorous offensive operation to the Westward, wholly with Continental troops, without weakening the main army so much as to put every thing to the hazard this way. Influenced by considerations of this nature I applied to your State for 600 men, to New

York for an indeterminate number, which has voted 1000 to be employed on the frontier also, and to Jersey, to replace, as far as was thought proper, the Continental troops now stationed on the Coast which will of necessity be withdrawn. If these applications have not the desired effect, bad as the consequences may be, I can only wish what I am unable to accomplish and regret what it is not in my power to prevent.

Notwithstanding the cautious terms in which the idea is conveyed, I beg leave to express my sensibility to the suggestion

16. Not found in the *Washington Papers*. It is printed, however, in the *Pennsylvania Archives* (Philadelphia, 1853), vol. 7, p. 341, as undated but assigned to April 24. In it Reed states he has called out 250 militia from the inner counties for the protection of Bedford and Westmoreland; but that these can hardly be ready before May 10 and the full number not then, owing to the forms to be complied with under Pennsylvania's militia law. He feared great disgust would be aroused in these two counties if these militia now were sent elsewhere and dwelt at some length on the legal difficulties encountered, the deficiency of arms caused by the conduct of the militia in 1776 and 1777, and displayed a jealousy of the troop protection given the New York frontier.

contained not only in your letter of the 25th but in a former one of the , that the frontier of Pennsylvania is left unguarded and exposed, while that of some other States is covered and protected. Nor can I be less affected by the manner of the application for stationary troops, in case the proposed expedition should be laid aside; an event which I could hardly have thought supportable. I am not conscious of the least partiality to one state, or neglect of another. If any one have cause to complain of the latter it is Virginia, whose wide extended frontier has had no cover but from troops more immediately beneficial to the South-Western part of Pennsylvania, which besides this has had its northern frontier covered by Spencers, Pulaski's and Armands corps; its middle, by Hartley's and some independent companies. That these troops were unequal to the task is not to be denied, nor that a greater number was sent at the close of last campaign to the Western frontier of New York. But for the first the scantiness of our means is a sufficient reason. If the abilities and resources of the states cannot furnish a more competent force, assailable as we are on all sides, they will surely

be more just than to expect, from the army, protection at every point. As to the last, those troops were not sent to be stationary. The repeated accounts transmitted by Congress and received from other quarters of the ravages actually committed, and the still greater threatened upon the Western frontier of that state, occasioned so considerable a detachment, with a view to some offensive operations in the Winter. But these, through unforeseen

impediments we were obliged to lay aside. All these troops except the garrison of fort Schuyler are now destined for the Indian expedition and are preparing for it. I have been thus particular from a scrupulous desire to show, that no part of my conduct indicates a predelection to one state, more than to another; but that as far as the means in my hands will extend, I aim equally at the security and welfare of all. This is only to be obtained by vigorous exertions and in the present case, these must depend on the aid which the States most interested will give.

I am sorry for the difficulty, that occurs on the score of arms for the Militia. Unfortunately the Continental Arsenals, from the returns I have seen are so empty, that if a part were to be spared from them, there would not remain a sufficiency even for the few recruits we may expect to receive.

The hurry in which I am often obliged to write letters will sometimes not allow them to be as full and explicit as might be wished. But besides the reasons assigned in my last for relinquishing the idea of a co-operation from Fort Pitt according to the original plan, the uncertainty of timing it will and a want of sufficient information of the country, through which they would have to pass. I might have added another, which had no small influence in the determination. I found, by my accounts from that quarter, that the removal of these troops, would not only uncover the part of the country where they now are; but add confidence to the Western Indians, already too much inclined to hostility, and expose

our affairs there to the most disagreeable consequences.

General Hand is only gone forward as an advanced corps to establish posts form magazines and prepare the way for troops that will follow. This explains his letter.



If the militia cannot be had for a longer term than two months, they must be posted on the communication between Sunbury and the operating troops, and be releived by others, at the expiration of their term of service. Upon the whole, it will make a most essential difference in our measures whether the aid of militia which I have requested, be furnished or not; and I cannot forbear expressing, in the most urgent manner, my wish, that the State may find it practicable to comply.

The Council are pleased to intimate an application from Bermudas for a supply of flour; I am glad to find they do not seem disposed to comply with it. In my opinion it cannot be done without serious injury to the service. Not only we appear to want all of that article which the Country can spare for our own use; but by with holding it from the enemy, we shall distress their privateers, which are the bane of our commerce, not a little. This I have reason to believe from the best authority has already happened from the embargos which have been laid upon that article; and it would seem hardly politick to remove the difficulty. No doubt a great part of what might be furnished would be applied in this way. [Besides these considerations, by withholding a supply we throw many additional mouths upon

the enemys magazines, and increase proportionably their distress; they will not, they cannot let their People starve. With great esteem and respect I am, etc.]<sup>17</sup>

## **To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, April 28, 1779.

Sir: I have the honor to inclose your Excellency extracts of three letters I have just received; one from a confidential correspondent at New York of the 25th another from General Maxwell, inclosing *that* of the 27th and another from Lt. Colo. Ford stationed in Monmouth County of the 26th. From the correspondence of time and circumstances, it appears that the troops mentioned in these different letters are the same. Their objects probably were to cut off Colonel Fords detachment obtain supplies and plunder the inhabitants. They may however possibly have it in

view to establish a post in that quarter for the purposes of encouraging the disaffected, drawing provisions and forage from the adjacent country and engaging recruits to their corps of levies.

I thought it necessary to apprise your Excellency of the movement whatever may be its design. I have the honor, &c.<sup>21</sup>

P.S. Your favour of the 24th is received.<sup>22</sup>

17. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The portion in brackets is in the writing of Washington.

21. On April 29 Washington wrote again to Gov. William Livingston, informing him that the enemy had retreated from Monmouth County. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*. The letter to the President of Congress on April 29, *q. v.*, is practically the same as the one sent to Livingston.

22. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

## **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, May 3, 1779.

Dear Sir: I am honored with your favor of the 25th of last month. The readiness with which you comply with all my requests, in prosecution of the Public service has a claim to my warmest acknowledgements. I am glad to hear of the measures the state has taken for raising a thousand men, and of your expectation

that the number would be soon completed. I hope the intelligence from Col. Cantine will not materially retard the progress of a business on which the general security of the frontier so much depends.

In confidence to your Excellency I shall not scruple to communicate, that the rendezvous for the Indian expedition will be at Wyoming and Conojoharie. The main body will be at the former; but

the precise plan of co-operation is not yet finally fixed. It will depend on the number of troops, which we shall have it in our power to provide for the purpose. Unhappily, the state of the army is such, that we cannot spare a sufficient detachment of Continental troops to carry on the expedition without the aid of some Militia. I have called upon the State of Pennsylvania for a supply to compose a part of the main body. If this succeeds to my wish, so that the main body may be strong enough to operate by itself with sufficient energy and security, the party at Conojoharie will proceed along the Mohawk river and penetrate the Indian settlements on the left. But if this should not be the case, while the main body moves on to Tioga, the other will proceed to form a junction with it there, by way of Lake Otsego [and the Susquehanna]; and the whole will then move forward into the heart of the Indian Country. You will be able to judge from this view of our plan, what disposition had best be made of the Militia destined for the frontier. I am in hopes when the troops begin to operate, they will furnish too much employment to the Indians in their own Country to allow them to indulge their ravages in ours. The interval is most to be dreaded.

In a letter I have lately received from the honorable Mr. Duane, in behalf of the Delegates of New York, he transmits a packet received from you on the subject of frontier prisoners under an idea, that the general direction of prisoners was in my hands. There is a misconception in this, for I have never had to do with any but military prisoners. The exchange of inhabitants, has generally rested with the states to which they belonged. So far as these are concerned, therefore, I consider them as out of my province. With respect to military prisoners (under which description, I comprehend all the officers and Soldiers of the Continental Army and of the Militia, taken in actual service); I shall be ready to concur with your Excellency in exchanging any such as may be in possession of the parties. In this, as to the officers, I must for the present confine myself to those taken on both sides on the frontier, on the principle of equality of rank. When this is done, if any officers of ours remain in their hands, they must wait till in the rotation of exchanges, and in the order of capture, it shall come to their turn, to be exchanged. I observe by the list there are very few on either side. It will be agreeable to me that such as cannot be exchanged on this plan shall be mutually released on parole. The enemy appear to have no privates of ours in their hands, so that no exchange can take place with regard to them. If they had any, we would very readily exchange, but I have made it a

maxim for obvious reasons, not to confound military prisoners and inhabitants, and consequently not to exchange them for each other.

I shall refer the papers back to Mr. Duane, that the proper steps may be taken with respect to inhabitants. As the business will turn chiefly on them, and the question of military prisoners will be only secondary, I request your Excellency to take the trouble to include them in your arrangements on the terms I have mentioned. I have the honor, etc.<sup>63</sup>

[H.S.P.]

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, May 4, 1779.

Dear Sir: I have received the honor of your two letters both of the 1st instant.<sup>75</sup>

I have generally been so happy as to agree with your Excellency in sentiment on public measures; but an instance now occurs, in which there happens to be a difference of opinion. I am extremely apprehensive that very disagreeable consequences may result from an increase of the standing pay of the militia. It would create an additional cause of discontent to the Soldiery, who would naturally draw a comparison between their situation and that of the Militia and would think it very hard and unjust that *these* should receive for temporary services a greater reward than *they* for permanent ones. This would occasion disgust and desertion, if not

63. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

75. At this point the draft has the following crossed off: "Though for the considerations. Your Excellency suggest I should be very willing to permit the men you mention of Pulaski's Corps to serve in the manner they desire; yet as they are deserters and make this a condition of their return it would be a bad example to accept their offered surrender. They may be entitled to the benefit of my late proclamation if they please; but I have informed Major Barguat that they must avail themselves

of it unconditionally or abide the consequences. I have at the same time directed him to take the most effectual measures he can, to force them to return, if they do not do it of their own accord. I doubt not your Excellency will see the propriety of this measure.”

mutiny, among those already in the army; and would be a new discouragement to others from entering into it. The only remedy would be to augment the pay of the Soldiery to an equal sum, and the like must be done in the other States to their militia. The addition of Public expence would then be excessive and the decay of our credit and currency proportional.

Your Excellency will agree with me, that every step should be carefully avoided, which has a tendency to dissatisfy the army, already too little pleased with its condition, and to weaken our military establishment already too feeble, and requiring every prop our circumstances will afford; to keep it from falling into ruin!

I should imagine the militia of the Country is to be drawn out by the authority of the Government rather than by the pecuniary reward attached to their service. If the former is not sufficient, the latter I apprehend will be found ineffectual. To make the compensation given to the Militia an inducement of material weight it must be raised so high as to bear a proportion to what they might obtain by their labour in their civil occupations; and in our case to do this, it must be raised so high as I fear, to exceed the utmost stretch of our finances.

But if it is thought indispensable to increase the emoluments of service, in order to bring out the Militia, it will be best to do it by a bounty rather than a fixed monthly pay. This would not be quite so palpable, nor strike the minds of the

army with the same degree of force. But even this is a very delicate point, and I have uniformly thought the large bounties which have been given in state enlistments and to the Militia have been a very fertile source of evils and an almost irreparable injury to the service.

I have taken the liberty to communicate my sentiments on this subject with great freedom to your Excellency and it appears to me a matter of extreme importance; and as I have the most intire

confidence in your candour and friendship. If my objections do not appear valid, you will at least ascribe them to their proper motives. I shall agreeable to your Excellency's wish continue the troops or the principle part of them at their present stations as long as it can be done without interfering with the main object. I believe it will be *a few days* beyond the period limited in my former letter.

Though I should have been unwilling to have accepted the surrender of the deserters on *conditions* ; yet as I understand from Captn. Benquet<sup>76</sup> they have already delivered themselves up this difficulty is removed. I agree with your Excellency that it would be ineligible to send them to South Carolina, and I have therefore ordered them to Easton. They will be employed on the Western service. A small party of horse will be necessary and these fortunately will answer the purpose. I was before somewhat at a loss.

From the general complexion of the intelligence from England and from that of the Minister's speech of which I have seen some extracts in a New York paper of the first instant, there is in my opinion, the greatest reason to believe that a

76. This name is spelled "Barguat" by Richard Kidder Meade.

vigorous prosecution of the war is determined on. Considerable reinforcements have been frequently mentioned as coming over to Sir Henry Clinton. This by many is discredited; but to me it appears so probable as to demand our most serious attention. While England can procure money, she will be able to procure men; and while she can maintain a ballance of naval power she may spare a considerable part of those men to carry on the war here. The measures adopted by Parliament some time since for recruiting the Army were well calculated to succeed; and the information we have received justifies a belief that it has been attended with no small success. Under these circumstances prudence exacts that we should make proportionable exertions on our part; and I assure Your Excellency the situation of our army demands them. I am sorry to find our prospects of a reinforcement are extremely slender. The Virginia levies intended for this quarter are now of necessity ordered to the Southward; few of the States have as yet done any thing that has come to my knowledge towards augmenting their batalions. This discouraging aspect of things

justifies no small degree of anxiety and alarm. I confess my feelings upon the subject are painful. I am persuaded Sir you will be ready to promote every measure which may be found practicable for completing the batalions of this State and I beg leave to recommend the matter to the most particular attention. With every sentiment of regard I am, etc.

P.S. Since writing the above I am favoured with yours of the 4th. Directions shall be given to the Commissary accordingly.<sup>77</sup>

77. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade and Alexander Hamilton.

### **To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, May 9, 1779.

Dr Sir: I have the honor to inclose your Excellency the examinations of two of the inhabitants of this state, David Urmston and Bn. Pound taken before Brigadier General Knox. The practice of seducing the soldiery and aiding them in deserting to the enemy has arisen to such an alarming height, that unless some severe examples can be made it must be attended with the most pernicious consequences. How far the laws have made provision for punishing a crime of this nature, I am not able to judge; but as far as they will extend, I am persuaded Your Excellency will see the necessity of doing every thing to suppress a practice so dangerous to the public service. The men will be delivered up to the civil authority in such manner as you shall be pleased to direct; and I have desired General Knox to furnish whatever evidence he may have relative to their conduct. I have the honor, etc.<sup>36</sup>

### **To THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS**

Head Quarters, May 12, 1779.

Gentn: I do myself the Honor of transmitting you a

36. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

Copy of an Act of Congress of the 1st Instant. The defenceless condition of the very important and interesting posts on Hudson river for the want of Cannon, and the impracticability of procuring them elsewhere, were the motives to its adoption. And I have directed General Heath to have the few Heavy pieces belonging to the United States, which are now in the Massachusets, brought forward with all possible expedition to those posts. Their security for want of proper Artillery has been long hazarded, and even after this accession, they will be extremely deficient in the number essential to their certain support. I should hope that your State cannot experience the smallest possible inconvenience by this procedure, and more especially as it has received a considerable augmentation of large Cannon from the Sommerset Man of War. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>97</sup>

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, May 14, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I have had the Honor of Your Excellency's Two favors of the 8th and 10th Instant and beg leave to return you my warmest thanks for the very polite and friendly manner, in which you received my observations upon the subject of raising the pay of the Militia.

97. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

I am now to inform Your Excellency that the public service has obliged me to march Colo. Ogdon's Regiment from Elizabeth Town. On Monday another will follow, and in a day or two after, the third and last of the Brigade. I flatter myself the Militia will be assembled in time, to prevent any inconveniences from their departure. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>17</sup>

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, May 15, 1779.



Sir: I was duly honored by Your Excellency's favour of the 26th of April in behalf of the Council of war on the subject of the removal of General Glover's brigade. Since the receipt of it Congress have been pleased to transmit me a copy of your letter on the same subject to that honorable body accompanied by a resolve of the 7th instant directing me "to take such order thereon as the necessities of the state of Rhode Island may require and the good of the service admit."

When my order for holding the Brigade in readiness was given, the situation of affairs in this quarter and some important operations of the Campaign in pursuance of the directions of Congress made it indispensible, and had things remained in the same state, it would have been totally out of my power,

17. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

to have avoided carrying the order into immediate execution. But having lately received intelligence from New York, that the Enemy have made a considerable detachment from that post, this makes some difference in the arrangements which would have been otherwise necessary, and enables me for the present to suspend the measure. How long it may be in my power to continue the Brigade, where it is, is entirely uncertain. The peculiar situation of your state and the distress to which it is exposed makes me sincerely desirous to afford all the aid I can; but I am persuaded your Excellency would not wish me to do it at the risk of the general safety or at the expence of plans in which the united interests of these states may be essentially concerned. Nor am I less confident, that the justice of the state will not expect more from me than the means put into my hands will permit. It is a melancholy truth that our collective force is very incompetent to the numerous and extensive demands upon it. This points out the absolute necessity of vigorous exertions in the several states to make it more adequate; and I doubt not the State of Rhode Island will continue to make efforts proportioned to its circumstances, the danger with which it is threatened and the exigencies of the public service at large. With every sentiment of respect, I have the honor, etc.

P.S. The successes of the enemy to the Southward have put me under the necessity of sending all the Virginia new levies and reinlisted men on furlough that way. This will lessen our expected force here and add to our difficulties.<sup>32</sup>

32. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

### **To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Middle Brook, May 15, 1779.

Sir: I have not yet been favoured with an answer to the letter which I did myself the honor to write you on the 27th Ulto. Whatever may be the determination of the Council respecting the alternative proposed of the first of June or July for General Arnolds trial, I am anxious to be informed of it, that no time may be lost more than cannot be avoided. If the Witnesses are to be called from Carolina, the summon ought to go to them without delay. I have received another letter from General Arnold pressing for a speedy trial. That Gentleman's situation is very interesting to his character and feelings and gives him a right to expect from me as a piece of Justice, that his fate may be decided as soon as it can be done consistent with a full and free investigation. If he should be found innocent, the sooner he is acquitted the better; if guilty, justice cannot take place too soon. At the same time that I wish the Council to be assured I am as unwilling to precipitate as to retard the trial; I am persuaded they will cheerfully enable me to act such a part as will avoid the imputation of unnecessary delay; and will be pleased to afford me the aid requested in my last.

The preparations for the Western expedition are in such forwardness, that I am putting all the troops to be employed in it,

in motion. I request the Council to hasten up those which the state is to furnish towards this important undertaking. I have the honor, etc.<sup>31</sup>

### **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

[Head Quarters, May 16, 1779.]

Dr Sir: It appears by the certificates in possession of Thomas Done the bearer of this letter, that he was a soldier in a company of Artillery commanded by Capt. Lamb, and that he lost his sight in the service. He has applied to me to direct him how to obtain the public provision made for persons in his situation. As the company to which he belonged was raised in the state of New York; he seems properly to come under the notice of that state. I therefore refer him to your Excellency with this line, and I doubt not his case will meet with the attention and tenderness to which it is entitled.<sup>42</sup> I have the honor, etc.<sup>43</sup>

**To MRS. THEODOSIA PREVOST<sup>74</sup>**

Head Quarters, Middlebrook, May 19, 1779.

Madam: It is much to be regreted, that the pleasure of

31. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

42. The draft at this point has crossed out the following: “ There is a resolve of Congress directing that officers and soldiers disabled in the service should receive half pay during lite to he paid by their respective states. He seems properly to come under the”

43. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

74. Wife of Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost, of the British Army.

obeying the first motions in favor of misfortune, is not always in our power. I should be happy, could I consider myself at liberty to comply with your request, in the case of your brother, Mr. Peter De Visme. But, as I have heretofore taken no direction in the disposal of marine prisoners, I cannot with propriety, interfere on the present occasion; however great the satisfaction I should feel in

obliging, where you are interested. Your good sense will perceive this, and find a sufficient excuse in the delicacy of my situation. I have the honor, etc.<sup>75</sup>

**To PRESIDENT JEREMIAH POWELL<sup>87</sup>**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, May 20, 1779.

Sir: I have the honor to inclose Your Excellency an extract from the proceedings of the Court Martial upon Lt. Colonels Mason and Smith held by order of Congress in consequence of a report of The Committee of the Honorable the Council appointed to inquire into the conduct of the officers employed in the public works at Springfield. These proceedings were transmitted to Congress and by them referred to me.

Major Ayres<sup>88</sup> did not attend for trial having previously sent in his resignation. But I have directed General Putnam

75. From a photostat of the original, in the writing of James McHenry, in the American Antiquarian Society.

87. Of the Massachusetts Council.

88. Maj. Joseph Eayre, of Flower's Artillery Artificers. No record of his resignation is found in the *Washington Papers*.

to appoint another Court and take effectual measures to procure his attendance. I have the honor, etc.<sup>89</sup>

**To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED AND THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, May 20, 1779.

Gentlemen: A few days since I was honored with your favour of the 8th instant.

It is my constant endeavour to cultivate the confidence of the governments of the several states, by an equal and uniform attention to their respective interests, so far as falls within the line of my duty and the compass of the means with which I am intrusted. While I have a consciousness of this, it is natural my sensibility should be affected even by the appearance of distrust. The assurances of the Council that I have misconceived their former letters afford me pleasure proportioned to the pain which that misconception occasioned. I shall not at present trouble them with any remarks on the subject discussed cussed in their last respecting the degree of protection which each state has a right to expect. I shall only beg leave to assure them, that I do full justice to the exertions of the State of Pensylvania, and to express my hope, that if circumstances will permit the execution of the immediate and ultimate projects of the campaign, effectual relief will be given

89. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

to our frontier in general. This is a favourite object with me, and nothing but necessity or more decisive prospects elsewhere will divert me from it.

If the independent companies raising amount to the Number the council mention, they will answer my expectation of succour from the state; and will make it unnecessary to call out immediately a body of militia. I shall only intreat that measures may be taken to have them as speedily as possible at the place of rendezvous Sunbury or Wyoming, where they will receive orders from General Sullivan who commands the expedition.

I am happy to find that General Arnold's trial is now put upon a satisfactory footing; and I regret that any misapprehension has happened. I shall endeavour to have the affair conducted in its future progress with unexceptionable propriety. The period now fixed for entering upon it relieves me from much embarrassment.

I beg the Council to accept my warmest thanks for the favourable sentiments of my conduct which they do me the honor in this new instance to express; and I intreat them to be assured of the perfect respect and esteem with which I am etc.

P.S. To prevent mistakes, I beg leave to repeat that if there are any persons to be summoned as Witnesses that fall within my province, I shall be obliged to the Council for a communication of their names.<sup>91</sup>

91. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

### **To COLONEL GEORGE MORGAN<sup>6</sup>**

Head Quarters, Middlebrooks, May 21, 1779.

Sir: I thought it necessary to transmit you the inclosed extract of a letter from Col. Brodhead, that you may be on your guard with respect to the design formed against the Indians under your care.<sup>7</sup> I have directed Colonel Brodhead in a letter of this date, to meet them with an escort on their return for their better protection. It may be proper in this case, to communicate to him, the route you mean they should take. I am, etc.<sup>8</sup>

### **CIRCULAR TO THE STATES<sup>28</sup>**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, May 22, 1779.

Sir: The situation of our affairs at this period appears to me peculiarly critical, and this I flatter myself will apologise for that anxiety which impels me to take the liberty of addressing you on the present occasion. The state of the army in particular is alarming on several accounts, that of its numbers is not among the least. Our battalions are exceedingly reduced, not only from the natural

decay incident to the best composed armies; but from the expiration of the term of service for which a large proportion of the men were

6. Agent for Indian Affairs, Middle Department.

7. “Several parties have been assembled to Murder the Delaware Chiefs now on their way to Philadelphia. Should they effect their Malicious purpose there will be an end to negotiation and a general War with the Savages will be the inevitable Consequence of their Barbarity.”— *Brodhead to Washington*, May 3, 1779. Brodhead's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

8. The original letter sent is in the writing of James McHenry and is in the *Washington Papers*. It is indorsed, on the cover, by McHenry: “The General requests Mr. Mitchell to have this letter sent to Mr. Morgan as soon as it comes to hand, 21 May 1779,” and in Morgan's writing “recd.: 23d: May.”

28. Sent to the Governors or Presidents of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

engaged. The measures hitherto taken to replace them, so far as has come to my knowledge have been attended with very partial success; and I am ignorant of any others in contemplation that afford a better prospect. A reinforcement expected from Virginia, consisting of new levies and reinlisted men is necessarily ordered to the Southward. Not far short of one third of our whole force must be detached on a service undertaken by the direction of Congress and essential in itself.<sup>29</sup> I shall only say of what remains, that when it is compared with the force of the enemy now actually at New York and Rhode Island, with the addition of the succours, they will in all probability receive from England, at the lowest computation, it will be found to justify very serious apprehensions and to demand the zealous attention of the different legislatures.

When we consider the rapid decline of our currency, the general temper of the times the disaffection of a great part of the people, the lethargy that overspreads<sup>30</sup> the rest, the increasing danger to the

Southern States, we cannot but dread the consequences of any misfortune in this quarter; and must feel the impolicy of trusting our security, to a want of activity and enterprise in the Enemy.<sup>31</sup>

An expectation of peace and an opinion of the Enemy's inability to send more troops to this country, I fear, have had too powerful an influence in our affairs. I have never heard of any thing conclusive to authorise the former, and present appearances are in my opinion against it. The accounts we receive from Europe

29. The draft has "to the interests of these States."

30. The draft has "benumbs."

31. The draft has "the precarious hope of a want," etc.

uniformly announce vigorous preparations to continue the war, at least another campaign. The debates and proceedings in Parliament wear this complexion. The public papers speak confidently of large reinforcements destined for America. The minister in his speech asserts positively that reinforcements will be sent over to Sir Henry Clinton; though he acknowledges the future plan of the war will be less extensive<sup>32</sup> than the past. Let it be supposed, that the intended succours will not exceed five thousand men. This will give the Enemy a superiority very dangerous to our safety, if their strength be properly exerted, and our situation not materially altered for the better.

These considerations and many more that might be suggested to point to the necessity of immediate and decisive exertions to complete our battalions and to make our military force more respectable. I thought it my duty to give an idea of its true state and to urge the attention of the States to a matter in which their safety and happiness are so interested. I hope a concern for the public good will be admitted as the motive and excuse of my importunity.

There is one point which I beg leave to mention also. The want of system, which has prevailed in the clothiers department has been a source of innumerable evils; defective supplies, irregular and unequal issues, great waste loss and expence to the public, general dissatisfaction in the army, much



confusion and perplexity, an additional load of business to the officers commanding make but a part of them. I have for a long time past most ardently desired to

32. The draft has “more contracted.”

see a reformation. Congress by a resolve of the 23d of March has established an ordinance for regulating this department. According to this, there is a sub or state clothier to be appointed by each state. I know not what instructions may have been given relative to these appointments; but, if the matter now rests with the particular States, I take the liberty to press their execution without loss of time. The service suffers amazingly from the disorder in this department, and the regulations for it cannot possibly be too soon carried into effect. I have the honor, etc.<sup>33</sup>

[M.D.H.S.]

33. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. The draft, in the *Washington Papers*, is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

## **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, May 24, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I was yesterday honored with your favour of the 18th. I most heartily approve the expedition you propose and thank your Excellency for suggesting it and offering to furnish the men and conduct the business yourself. I have consulted the Qr. Master General, who thinks he can furnish the requisite means in his department and writes to you by this opportunity to put the matter in train.

I have communicated the plan to General Sullivan who commands the Western expedition and directed him to open a correspondence with your Excellency, that you may concert between you the time for carrying it into execution which will be most favourable to his operations. I have the honor, etc.<sup>52</sup>

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JOHNSON**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, May 28, 1779.

Sir: I have the pleasure to inform Your Excellency, that after a variety of attempts, and much time and labour spent by Several Boards of Officers, the Arrangement of the Maryland line

52. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

has been at length fixed, and Commissions have been issued for the Officers agreeable to it, by the Board of War, except in the instances mentioned in the inclosed List. The Gentlemen named in this, belong to the State, have served with the Troops a considerable time and have been recommended and arranged to the ranks against their respective names; but as they have never received any appointments from the State, I have thought it necessary to obtain Your Excellency's sanction to the measure, previous to my application to the Board for Commissions for them. They are all reported to be Gentlemen of merit, and well intitled from every consideration to these promotions. The Two first and the last, from a deficiency of Officers have long acted as Officers in the line, and Mr. Stoddart for near Two Years as a Brigade Major to General Smallwood. Indeed it would be a fortunate circumstance on account of the great want of Officers occasioned by resignations and other causes, if there were Several Other Gentlemen, who could be recommended and receive appointments. I shall be obliged by Your Answer, by the earliest opportunity.

I have the Honor, etc.

[MD.H.S.]

The Cases alluded to: 46 Benjn. Garnett,<sup>8</sup> 1 Lieut. 5 Regimt. 13 Octob 78; 47 Parker Hall Lee, do 4do. 16th do; 53 Wm Trueman Stoddart,<sup>9</sup> do 5 do 31st. May 79; 10 Wm. Adams,<sup>10</sup> 2 Lt. 7do 14 Apl. 1778.<sup>11</sup>

8. Garnett was regimental adjutant in September, 1779. He was transferred to the Third Continental Dragoons that same month and served to November, 1782. Lee resigned in February, 1780.
9. Stoddard (Stoddart) was transferred to the Fourth Maryland Regiment in January, 1781, and retired in January, 1783.
10. Adams was transferred to the Second Maryland Regiment in January, 1781, and served to April, 1783.
11. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The list of names is, with the draft, in the *Washington Papers*, but not with the letter in the Maryland Historical Society.

**To PHILIP SCHUYLER AND VOLKERT P. DOUW<sup>14</sup>**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, May 28, 1779.

Gentlemen: I have the honor to inclose you copies of two resolutions of Congress one of the 17th relating to a peace with the indians and another of the 22d relating to an exchange of prisoners.

The former took its rise from information received some time since from General Schuyler of a disposition in the Cayugas and Onondagas to enter into a peace with us. My opinion is, which I communicated to Congress, that it would be good policy the better to ensure the success of our Western operations to detach some of the inferior tribes of the hostile confederacy, while we are vigorously pursuing the destruction of the more powerful and implacable. These indeed have not discovered any desire of pacification; but if they had, considering the temper which has actuated them from the beginning of the war, the mischief they have done, the maxims that govern their conduct and the little dependance that is to be placed on their engagements, I should esteem it very impolitic to let the great expence incurred in our preparations for chastising them be rendered fruitless, by listening to overtures of peace, which their apprehensions at this juncture might dictate;

and which they would certainly violate the first fair opportunity. But as a partial peace with the smaller tribes will serve to distract and intimidate the rest, to weaken

14. Philip Schuyler and Volkert Pieterse Douw. They were Commissioners of Indian Affairs of the Northern Department, residing at Albany, N.Y.

their collective opposition and facilitate our main design, it is to be wished the event may take place. I would not however recommend that it should be courted by us; but that the advances on their side should meet with a favourable reception and be turned to the best account. We may possibly engage them in enterprises which will be of advantage as preliminary proofs of their sincerity.

By the latest intelligence it appears that the Cayugas intend to persist in their hostilities and to retire to the Seneca castles; but that the Onondagas retain their inclination for peace and have even offered to do something in evidence of its reality. If they could find means by stratagem or force to bring of Brandt<sup>15</sup> or Butler<sup>16</sup> or both, it would be doing us a most important service. I have hinted this to General Clinton through whom I have the intelligence of their offer. It was made under an injunction of secrecy.<sup>17</sup> I think it will be adviseable to conclude a treaty with them on the best terms we can and to endeavour to employ them against their neighbours. If the Cayugas give new indications of a peaceful disposition I would encourage it in them also.

With respect to the exchange of prisoners, it will be perfectly agreeable to me that any good citizens of ours in their possession should be exchanged for any disaffected inhabitants that the States to which they belong may judge it proper to give in return; and as it is a business interesting to humanity, I make no doubt the Commissioners will pay the most zealous attention to it, and obtain the sense of the States concerned as speedily as possible for the purpose of

15. Chief Joseph Brant.

16. Walter Butler.

17. At this point the draft has crossed off the following: “and I should be glad if the Commissioners think it practicable, they would take the matter under their direction.”

carrying on the negotiation. I would wish carefully to avoid confounding civil and military prisoners together or giving soldiers for inhabitants, as it leads to pernicious consequences. But I should be glad to have the exchange to comprehend the military as well as the civil, officer for officer of equal rank and private for private; so far as the number of prisoners captured on the frontier in our respective possessions will apply. I request a list of what remains may be transmitted to the Commissary General of Prisoners. With great respect and esteem etc.<sup>18</sup>

18. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

**To ARCHIBALD CARY**

May, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I very sincerely lament that the situation of our service will not permit us to do justice to the merits of Major Monroe,<sup>72</sup> who will deliver you this, by placing him in the army upon some satisfactory footing. But as he is on the point of leaving us and expresses an intention of going to the South-ward where a new scene has opened, it is with pleasure I take occasion to express to you the high opinion I have of his worth. The zeal he discovered by entering the service at an early period, the character he supported in his regiment, and the manner in which he distinguished himself at Trenton, where he received a wound, induced me to appoint him to a captaincy in one of the additional regiments. This regiment failing from the difficulty of recruiting, he entered into Lord Stirlings family and has served two campaigns as a volunteer aid to his lordship. He has in every instance maintained the reputation of a brave active and sensible officer. As we cannot introduce him into the Continental line, it were to be wished the State could do something for him, to enable him to follow the bent of his military inclination and render service to his country. If an event of this kind could take place it would give me particular pleasure, as the esteem I have for him, and a

regard to merit conspire to make me earnestly wish to see him provided for in some handsome way. I am, &c.<sup>73</sup>

72. Maj. James Munroe. He resigned in December, 1778. He became the fifth President of the United States.

73. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

### **To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, June 2, 1779.

Dr. Sir: General Greene has informed me, that he addressed Your Excellency some time since upon the subject of Waggons and suggested that it would be necessary, owing to the difficulties of procuring them in the ordinary way, for the Legislature to authorise Col M Foreman<sup>15</sup> to impress them in cases of exigency. I would take the liberty to add, that it appears to me indispensibly necessary for the several Legislatures to give their earliest attention to this subject and to adopt measures, from which supplies of Waggons may be derived in times of emergency; and if this is not done, there is every reason to apprehend that the movements of the Army will be frequently impeded and sometimes found impracticable. We have already experienced great inconveniences on this head, and from the unhappy depreciation of our Money, they will most probably increase.

I most heartily recommend the subject to Your Excellency's consideration and as you will readily perceive that the success and even security of an Army in a variety of cases, may depend upon the rapidity with which it may be able to move, I am persuaded it will have every proper countenance and support on your part. The desultory kind of War, which the Enemy seem determined to pursue is a further cogent reason for the Legislatures interposing with their authority in the case. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>16</sup>

15. Intended for Col. David Forman.

16. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

**To TIMOTHY MATLACK**<sup>94</sup>

Head Quarters, June 2, 1779.

Sir: I am sorry to inform you, that the situation of Affairs will not permit a Court Martial to proceed on the trial of General Arnold at this Camp. The movements of the Enemy make it indispensibly necessary, that the Army should at least advance towards the North river, with all practicable expedition, and require that the Officers appointed to compose the Court, should be with their several commands. The following is a Copy of the opinion of the General Officers upon the occasion, who were convened yesterday evening to consider of some points, which I judged it material to submit to them respecting the trial, in consequence of a Letter from the Judge Advocate.

“His Excellency the Commander in Chief having received intelligence, that the Enemy had moved out in full force from New York to Kings bridge and towards the White plains, and, during our deliberations on the points submitted by the foregoing state, a Letter from Colo. Thomas Clark dated at Paramus the 31st Ulto at 7 OClock P M, advising that the Enemy were at Tallars point with Forty two sail, Six of which were very large, and a number of flat bottomed Boats, and that they had landed a party of men on the other side of the North River and a party on this at the Slote.

We are of opinion, upon the Question being propounded that the situation of Affairs renders it necessary to postpone the

94. Secretary to the Pennsylvania Council.

consideration of the matters so submitted to us, and that the meeting of the Members nominated to compose the Court Martial be deferred till the Commander in Chief shall judge the circumstances of the service will better admit of it.”<sup>95</sup>

The Witnesses from this relation of facts will perceive on what grounds the trial is postponed, and it is a matter of great concern to me, that I cannot fix the time when the Court will sit, as it must depend on the Enemy's operations. Whenever these will permit, the Trial will be proceeded on and notice of the day communicated that file Evidences may attend. I am etc.

P.S. As the movements of the Enemy may possibly admit of the Court Martial's sitting in the course of Two or three or a few days, I am just informed that General Arnold intends to go to Morris Town and to wait events. If the Witnesses should also choose to remain in the vicinity of the Army it may conduce to dispatch.<sup>96</sup>

[H.S.P.]

95. The quotation is taken verbatim from the proceedings of the Council of General Officers, June 1, 1779, *q. v.*

96. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

## **To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, June 3, 1779.

Dr. Sir: The enemy have been some time since in motion apparently with some capital design, and by my last intelligence had proceeded up the North River in force and had landed a considerable body in the vicinity of Kings ferry. These movements seem to look more immediately towards the Forts on the River; but the real object may very probably be to prevent the junction of our force and bend their whole strength against the part in this state. Should this happen we shall absolutely stand in need of a large reinforcement of militia and the most animated measures to bring them out will be essential. I am unwilling to call them from their occupations 'till the moment that their aid can be no longer dispensed with; but if any previous measures can be taken to engage their attention and



facilitate their coming out on an emergency it will be infinitely desirable. I wish General Dickenson was in the state at this juncture. With great respect etc.<sup>31</sup>

31. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

**To DAVID RITTENHOUSE**

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, June 3, 1779.

Sir: I beg leave to trouble you with a Theodolite which is a little out of repair and to request that you will be good enough to have it put in order. As I am not in a hurry about it, I wish you only to have what is necessary done at some moment of leisure. The Quarter Master at Philadelphia will receive and forward it to me. I am, etc.<sup>32</sup>

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, Smiths in the Clove, June 9, 1779.

Dear Sir: Having considered our own force, the situation and circumstances of the enemy, and the inconveniences which must result to the militia from detaining them longer in the field, from the sudden and unexpected manner in which they came out. I beg leave to inform your Excellency, that, I should hope they may be dismissed and permitted to return to their homes for the present, without any great injury. At the same time I request the favor of your Excellency to make them a tender of my sincerest thanks for their readiness

32. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

in turning out; a circumstance not less interesting to the States than honorable to themselves, and which leaves me intirely convinced that their earliest support will not be wanting in any future case of emergency. I have the honor, etc.<sup>83</sup>

## To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Smiths in the Clove, June 9, 1779.

Sir: Among the various difficulties that have occurred in the Army, there have been few more distressing or more injurious to the service than the disputes about rank, and those which have arisen from irregular promotions. A case has lately happened of this nature between John Allison and John Lee Esquires respecting the Lieutenant Colonelcy in the 1st. Virginia *State* Regiment. The inclosed paper contains a Copy of the claims of the parties and of the Opinion of a Board of Field Officers as to their rights, which is submitted to Your Excellency to approve or disapprove, as it leads to a revocation of Commissions, which I do not consider myself authorized to direct in any instance. If the Board's opinion is confirmed which is in favor of Mr. Allison, and who was clearly a superior Officer to Mr. Lee, it will be necessary to revoke the Commission of Lt. Colo. granted the latter and that of Major granted to Captain Quarles.<sup>84</sup> It will also

83. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. The text is from a photostat of the original kindly furnished by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of New York City.

84. Capt. James Quarles, of the Second Virginia State Regiment. He served after January, 1780, as major of the Virginia Militia.

be necessary in conformity to the Opinion of the Court, which is founded, in justice to the line of the Army in general, that the Commissions of Lieut. Colonel and of Major, given by Colo. Gibson to Mr Allison and Meriwether<sup>85</sup> respectively, as mentioned in the proceedings, should be vacated, and new ones issued bearing date at the time Lieutenant Colonel Brent<sup>86</sup> was promoted to the command of the 2d *State* Regiment in consequence of Colo: Smith's<sup>87</sup> Resignation. I am sorry to observe upon this occasion, that there does not appear to have been that degree of candor and delicate conduct used, either in granting Commissions of Lt. Colonel and Major to Mr Allison and Mr. Meriwether in the first instance, or in obtaining those in the last for Mr. Lee and Mr. Quarles,

which I could always wish to characterise Officers. The sooner Your Excellency determines the point and transmits the result the better, as 'till then matters will remain in suspense and confusion to the detriment of the service. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>88</sup>

## **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, Smiths Clove, June 13, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I have been duly honored with your Excellency's favor of the 7th. The high respect I bear to the State would

85. Maj. Thomas Meriwether, of the First Virginia State Regiment. He served to February, 1781.

86. Lieut. Col. William Brent, of the Second Virginia State Regiment.

87. Col. Gregory Smith, of the Second Virginia State Regiment. He resigned in May, 1779.

88. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

make me silent upon a subject of such delicacy as that you have been pleased to communicate, did I not view the event which you suppose probable as pregnant with very unhappy consequences. I should regard it as one of the most unfortunate that could happen in our present circumstances.<sup>42</sup> I beg leave to assure your Excellency as the result of the fullest examination of our resources and expectations, that no part of our force or supplies, can be diverted from the common defence without essentially injuring the common cause. The support of the army after every measure that can be adopted by our united efforts will be barely practicable. This I do not assert upon general and vague grounds but from a minute inspection of the actual state and future prospects of our magazines. Much is to be apprehended, if this State on whose wisdom and energy I have always had the strongest reliance, should turn its resources into a different channel. An anxious concern for the public good will I flatter myself be admitted by your Excellency as the only motive and a sufficient excuse, for so free a communication of my sentiments on the present interesting occasion.

I shall give immediate directions for returning within the state the six Brass six pounders lent the Continent or others equally good. I have the honor to be, etc.<sup>43</sup>

42. Clinton's letter of June 7, from the Highlands, is not found in the *Washington Papers*, but as printed in the *Clinton Papers* (Albany, 1911), vol. 5, P. 59, it informed Washington that the governor expected to be forced to quit the field in order to convene the legislature, because of outrages committed in Cumberland County, N.Y., by Ethan Allen and his followers, who had seized and imprisoned the principal civil and military officers. Clinton requested the return of the six brass six-pounders lent to the Continent in 1776. The magazines of flour ordered collected by the New York Legislature would be wanted for the expected operations against the Vermonters and the State would not be able to fill its Continental battalions for the same reason and would not be able to assist the western expedition under General Sullivan.

43. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. From a photostat of the original kindly furnished by Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N. J.

#### **To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED AND THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL**

Head Quarters, Smiths Clove, June 14, 1779.

Gentlemen: I was duly honored with your favour of the 29th of May, which the moving state of the army and other circumstances have prevented my acknowledging sooner.

Inclosed you will be pleased to receive a state of the Battalions of Pennsylvania formed agreeable to the last returns. It is some time since any have been received from the three regiments that are detached; but the present state will be sufficiently accurate to answer the purpose for which you intend it.

I am happy to hear we begin to be awakened to a sense of our situation. I hope we shall be thoroughly roused and that our exertions to extricate ourselves may be attended with correspondent success.

The movements of the enemy obliged us to defer General Arnolds trial. So soon as our affairs are in a train to admit of it, no time shall be lost in resuming it.

You will no doubt have been informed of the operations of the enemy on the North River. They have taken post in two divisions on the opposite sides of the River at Verplanks and stoney points where the nature of the ground renders them inaccessible. This puts a stop to our lower communication and will greatly add to the difficulty of transportation between the States; while it will enable them to draw additional supplies from the country and to increase the distress and disaffection of the inhabitants residing along the River. It is hard to say what may be their future progress; but under the present appearances, we have thought it advisable to provide for the security of the forts, by taking post with the main army in their vicinity. With great respect, etc.<sup>49</sup>

[H.S.P.]

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, New Windsor, June 24, 1779.

Dr. Sir: That I might be more convenient to the Works at West point, I removed my Quarters to this place on Monday last. I have only to add upon this subject, that I shall be happy to see your Excellency here, as often as your leisure will permit.

There has been no Official account received from Charles Town as yet that I know of; but I have no doubt but that there has been an Action there, and that the issue has been in our favour. The inclosed is a Copy of a Letter I just received from General Greene, in which the Affair is so

particularly related, that it is hardly possible it can be destitute of foundation. I trust we shall have in a few days, the fullest confirmation. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>21</sup>

[M.L]

49. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

21. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

### **To COLONEL THEUNIS DEY AND OTHERS**

New Windsor, June 26, 1779.

Gentlemen: I have received your petition, upon the subject of Nathaniel Brackitts remaining where he is, to discipline a party of Horse. I should be very happy to promote a measure of the sort whenever in my power; but Serjeant Brackitt cannot be employed in the business at this time, nor can he be capable, if circumstances would admit, of rendering any material service. I am, etc.<sup>49</sup>

### **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, June 27, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I have received your two favours of the 24th and 25th. I am sorry for the accident, that has befallen the Militia.

Some days since I directed Genl. McDougall to send an hundred infantry to join Sheldons regiment of dragoons and Col Moylan has also been directed to join him with his regiment of cavalry. This corps I hope will be able to answer the purpose of countenancing the militia and assisting them to cover the Country.

I am happy in the promise of a visit

49. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

with which Your Excellency obliges me. With the truest regard etc.<sup>54</sup>

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, June 28, 1779.

Dear Sir: I just now received your favor of to day.<sup>67</sup> The Enemy are now indebted to us on the Score of privates and have been for a considerable time, or at least ever since last fall. This circumstance put's it out of my power to send in any new prisoners, but I shall cheerfully consent to apply the Militia taken the other day, to the credit of their Account if they will release them, and I will direct the Commissary to attempt to negotiate their exchange as soon as he can. This is all I can do at present. If they cannot be liberated in this way I shall not have the smallest objections to their friends sending them Cloathing and other Necessaries, and will furnish such permits as may be proper. Perhaps they had better send them a few necessary Cloathes immediately. I am, etc.

P.S. I request that you will direct a list of the prisoners to be sent me, that the Commissary may be the better enabled to negotiate the business. The Exchange can only operate as to those who were in Arms.<sup>68</sup>

54. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

67. Clinton's letter of June 28 is not found in the *Washington Papers*.

68. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, New Windsor, June 28, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I have the honor to inclose you an extract from my letter of the 21st to Genl. Sullivan by which you will perceive I have informed him that Lieut. Col. Pauling with a part of his command will join Genl. Clinton at Ononquaga and proceed on the ulterior operations of the expedition. As you left the matter to my determination whether the party should return or proceed on the western service after effecting the primary object, I have preferred the latter as the safest. By some intelligence from Canada received through Col. Hazen concurring with what Col. Van Schaick communicated some time since, it is said that 1500 Men were sent early in the spring to the posts on the Lakes. Though I do not give intire credit to this account, yet as it may be true, I am willing to strengthen the expedition as much as possible, to avoid an accident. I am to request your Excellency will give directions to Lt. Col. Pauling accordingly. I have the honor, etc.<sup>69</sup>

[M.L.]

**To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED AND THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL**

Head Quarters, New Windsor, July 5, 1779.

Gentlemen: I am extremely concerned to find by several late

69. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

Letters from General Sullivan that he is like to be disappointed in the independt. companies which were to reinforce him from the State of Pensylvania. The consequences of this disappointment will certainly be very injurious, they may be more than injurious. For want of these he will be obliged to reduce his operating force to establish the necessary posts of communication too low perhaps to act with safety and effect, or he must leave his communication and convoys in the most precarious state. I have advised him rather to hazard something in the last respect than in the first, with an assurance that I would again solicit the aid of the state to strengthen the posts in his rear and assist in protecting his convoys. I must entreat in the most pressing terms that the Council will be pleased without delay to take effectual measures to have the number of men originally requested,



sent forward.<sup>26</sup> If the independent companies are not ready, I beg their place may be supplied by militia to be relieved periodically. The Council are fully sensible of the importance of success in the present expedition and of the fatal mischiefs which would attend a defeat. We should perhaps lose an army and our frontiers would be desolated and deluged in blood. A large reinforcement has been sent from Canada to join the savages. They are collecting their force for a vigorous opposition; and if they are successful, their devastations will exceed any thing we have yet experienced. Their means will be increased and their cruelty will be emboldened by success and Sharpened by revenge.

It was not in my power to send a greater

26. Reed answered (July 11) that peremptory orders had been given to the ranging companies and militia of the adjacent counties to join Sullivan.

Continental force. I stretched this string as hard as it would possibly bear, and relied on the further aid of the states more immediately concerned. I hope I shall not be eventually disappointed. I flatter myself the Council will think my anxiety on this occasion natural and will excuse my importunity. With very great respect etc.

P.S. I shall be much obliged to the Council to communicate what they will have it in their power to do, to General Sullivan that he may take his measures accordingly.<sup>27</sup>

## **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, New Windsor, July 7, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I beg leave to inform your Excellency that I have received intelligence of an embarkation of the enemy the 4th instant at Frogs Neck which proceeded up the Sound and probably have in view a sudden incursion into your State; perhaps New London may be the object. I should have communicated the intelligence sooner, but it arrived during my absence from Head Quarters, from which place I have been for two days past on a visit to our own posts below and those the enemy

have lately established. The embarkation in question is said to consist of the Grenadiers light infantry and some

27. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

Hessians amounting to about 1800 men. It seems the enemy have lately collected a number of their shipping in the East River. Their whole force except this detachment is assembling about Kings Bridge and Philip's farm. The present movement up the sound may have two objects in view, the destruction of some town or magazine near the coast and the drawing off the farmers from their harvest, and the diversion of a part of our force that way to enable them to act more seriously on this River.

On hearing that the enemy intended to bring a part of the garrison of Rhode Island to New York I directed General Gates in that event to send a proportionable part of his force this way;, and on receiving information that they had actually done it, in a subsequent letter I directed him to march Glover's Brigade. The inclosed to the Commanding Officer instructs him in case of any operation of the enemy in Connecticut to give all the aid in his power to the militia to repel them. If it should not be too late, Your Excellency will be pleased to forward the letter to him with such information and advice as circumstances may dictate. I have the honor, &c.<sup>33</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, New Windsor, July 9, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I am just honored with Your Excellency's letter of the 7th. I had the pleasure of writing to you the same day inclosing

33. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

a letter for General Glover, or officer commanding his brigade, in which I was so happy as to have anticipated your wishes. In addition to that, General Parsons set out yesterday for Connecticut at

my request. I was induced to this from a supposition that this knowledge of The Country and the inhabitants would render him useful. It is most probable the enemy's incursion will be temporary; but as it may be repeated in some other part and as the present season is particularly interesting, it will be agreeable to me that Glovers brigade should halt for a little time in your state at such place as may be thought best calculated to give cover to the part of the country most exposed. I inclose a letter to General Glover for that purpose. With the greatest respect etc.<sup>47</sup>

**To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

New Windsor, July 9, 1779.

Sir: Doctor Hodges<sup>48</sup> will have the Honor of presenting this to Your Excellency. The Inclosed, a Copy of a Letter from Governor Trumbull, will inform you of the business he is upon. It is important and interesting and I am persuaded the Doctor will meet with every assistance that you can give him in the prosecution of it. I have the Honor, &c.<sup>49</sup>

47. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

48. Dr. Silas Hodges, of Hartford, Conn., whose mission was to remove "certain jealousies then existing."

49. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters, New Windsor, July 10, 1779.

Sir: On the 4th Instant I had the Honor to receive your Letter of the 19th of June. Your Excellency will permit me to offer you my sincere congratulations upon your appointment to the Government of Virginia.

I thank you much for the accounts Your Excellency has been pleased to transmit me of the successes of Cols. Clarke<sup>67</sup>, and Shelby.<sup>68</sup> They are important and interesting, and do great honor to the Officers and Men engaged in the Enterprises.<sup>69</sup> I hope these successes will be followed by very happy consequences. If Colo Clarke could by any means gain possession of Detroit, it would in all probability effectually secure the friendship or at least the neutrality of most of the Western Indians.

I have no doubt of the propriety of the proceedings against Governor Hamilton,<sup>70</sup> Dejean<sup>71</sup> and Lamothe.<sup>72</sup> Their cruelties to our unhappy people who have fallen into their hands and the measures they have pursued to excite the savages to acts of the most wanton barbarity, discriminate them from common prisoners, and most fully authorize the treatment decreed in their case.

Your Excellency will have heard of the Enemy's movements up Hudson's river. It was generally supposed from the force in which they came, and from a variety of Other circumstances that our posts in the Highlands were their Object; however they did

67. Col. George Rogers Clark, of the Virginia Militia. He was made brigadier general in the Virginia Militia in 1780–83.

68. Col. Isaac Shelby, of the Virginia Militia.

69. Clark's expedition against Vincennes and Shelby's against the Indians and stores at Chickamauga.

70. Henry Hamilton, lieutenant governor of Detroit, Mich.

71. Grand judge of Detroit.

72. Captain La Mothe.

not attempt them. They took post themselves on Verplanks and Stoney points on the opposite sides of the River, where they have established very strong Garrisons, and from their peninsular and indeed almost insular forms, it will be very difficult if practicable to dislodge them. The taking of these positions was, among other considerations, to distress and cut off our best communication between the States East and West of the River. Since they have done this, Genl. Clinton with the main body of his Army has fallen down the River to Philipsbourg and the Country above Kings bridge. They seem determined to prosecute the system of War, threatened by the Commissioners<sup>73</sup> and afterwards sanctioned by Parliament on a discussion of the point. And a Detachment sent up the Sound last week disembarked, plundered New Haven, burnt some Houses there and at East Haven, reembarked and on the 7th relanded and burnt almost<sup>74</sup> the Town of Fairfield, except a few Houses. The Militia upon these occasions considering their number and the sudden manner in which they assembled, behaved with great spirit. Genl. Tryon it is said commands these disgraceful expeditions. I have the Honor, etc.

P.S. The Enemy have burnt Norwalk, another Town on the sound.<sup>75</sup>

73. British Peace Commissioners.

74. The draft has "the whole of" scratched out at this point.

75. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

## **To THE NORWALK SELECTMEN<sup>87</sup>**

Head Quarters, New Windsor, July 11, 1779.

Gentlemen: I had last night the Honor to receive your Letter of the 9th Instant. The depredations and ravages of the Enemy upon your coast, give me great concern and I sincerely regret that the means of protection in my power, are not equal to my wishes. You may be assured that whatever I can do to afford relief shall be done and to this end I ordered a body of Troops to march yesterday,

which perhaps was doing more than a regard to the general interest and circumstances of the Army would justify. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>88</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, New Windsor, July 12, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I do myself the honour to inform your Excellency that on hearing the enemy were moving through Marryneck<sup>15</sup> in considerable force, I put General Heath and the two Connecticut brigades under marching orders towards the Sound. They I believe began their march yesterday morning; but the weather probably prevented their going far. I have the honor, &c.<sup>16</sup>

87. Thaddeus Betts, justice of the peace, and Lieut. Col. Stephen St. John headed the signers of the letter of July 9, which is in the *Washington Papers*.

88. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

15. Mamaroneck, N.Y.

16. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, New Windsor, July 12, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I am just honored with your letter of the 10th. Mine of this morning which will probably reach you before this, will inform you, that on hearing of the enemy's movement from below, I had detached a body of troops under Major General Heath to counteract them. It gives me pain that I have it not in my power to afford more effectual succour to the country; but the smallness of our force obliges me to confine my attention so intirely to one essential point, that I can do little more than lament the depredations of the enemy at a distance. I am persuaded your Excellency will

make every allowance for the incompetency of the means put into my hands. The security of the communication of this River is of so great importance, and the enemy have such a facility, by the assistance of water transportation of moving from one place to another, that we dare not draw any considerable part of our force from this post; but with an embarrassing degree of caution. It is very probable in the present case, that one principal object of the operations on your coast may be to draw us off from the River, to facilitate an attack upon it. The movement towards Horseneck has more particularly this aspect. It is however very likely that the detachment under Tryon may go on with its ravages on your coast to disturb the inhabitants in the occupations of harvest by which they no doubt do us very serious injury. I believe the accounts

you have received rather overrate his force. From my best information it consists of Six Regiments the four that came from Rhode Island and two others, one Regiment of Anspach, Fannings,<sup>17</sup> 7th. 22d. 23d and 54th British. These cannot exceed hardly equal, two thousand.

I thank your Excellency for the proclamation and answer.<sup>18</sup> The first is truly ridiculous and must tend to incense rather than intimidate; the last is laconic but to the purpose. I have the honor, etc.

17. Col. Edmund Fanning's loyalist corps, known as the "King's American Regiment."

18. Col. Samuel Whiting, commanding the Connecticut Militia, returned the following answer to the Collier and Tryon address: "Connecticut having nobly dared to take up Arms against the cruel Despotism of Britain; And the flames having preceded their Answer to Your flag—They will persist to oppose to their utmost the power exerted against injured innocence." The copy is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 152, 7, fol. 493. (See also Washington's letter to the President of Congress, July 9, 1779.)

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

New Windsor, July 14, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I yesterday evening received Your favor of the 13th, and thank you for transmitting me a copy of your Brother's Letter. I am happy to find that the Troops are in such health and Spirits.

Major Gibbs inclosed you Yesterday the Charles Town papers of the 29th of May and 4th of June, which would shew Your Excellency all the operations in that quarter to those dates; and that matters are far short of the successes, of which we had heard.

In consequence of the movements of the Enemy up the Sound and a body of them towards Horseneck, I detached General Heath with the Brigades of Connecticut on the route by Crompond, and Bedford or Ridgefield as circumstances might require in order to aid and countenance the Militia. The Enemy seem determined to prosecute the system of War threatened by the Commissioners in their Manifesto.<sup>36</sup> They have burnt Fairfield, Norwalk and Bedford, and some Houses in New Haven and East Haven, and all the parish of Greens farm. It is high time to retaliate, by burning their Towns if it is practicable. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>37</sup>

[N.Y.P.L.]

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, July 16, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I have the pleasure to transmit Your Excellency the inclosed Copy of a Letter from Brigadr. Genl. Wayne, which this moment came to hand. I congratulate you. ... I have not yet obtained the particulars of the Affair. I have the Honor, &c.

P.S. General Wayne received a slight wound with a Musket Ball in his Head; but it did not prevent him from going on with the Troops.<sup>52</sup>

36. The proclamation of the British Peace Commissioners, Oct. 3, 1778.



37. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

52. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The omitted portion is identical with the last half of Washington's letter to Congress, July 16, 1779, *q. v.*

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

West Point, July 19, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I this morning received Your favor of the 18th when returning from Stoney point. Being very much fatigued and not having obtained a detail account of the Action yet, I cannot comply with your Excellency's request. However for your private information, I believe the Garrison amounted to about 500 rank and file, of which between 20 and thirty might have been killed about Forty wounded and the rest taken. There were 15 pieces of Ordnance altogether and a suitable supply of Ammunition; provisions none. A small reinforcement of the Enemy arrived yesterday at Verplanks and from intelligence, the main body of their Army was moving up by Land and Water; that the advance of the Troops moving by Land was at the New bridge on Croton; part of those on board Ship were arrived just below Colo Hays House, and many other Vessels were heaving in sight. This movement obliged Major Genl Howe to retire from before the Enemy's lines on Verplank's point.<sup>63</sup> We have dismantled the Works at Stoney point and destroyed them as far as circumstances would permit. We could not hold them. I am in haste, &c.

P.S. The state of the Enemy's force on Verplanks before this reinforcement, was about the same of that on Stoney point.<sup>64</sup>

63. A hurried note from Robert Howe to Washington, undated, but probably July 18, is in the *Washington Papers*. It expresses that general's disappointment at being obliged to fall back: "Oh: My Dear General What a Soul Piercing Wound has the unexpected inevitable delay of Yesterday given to Dear Sir your very Respectful and truly affectionate. R. Howe."

64. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent was in the possession (1931) of Thomas F. Madigan, of New York City.

**To VOLKERT PIETERSE DOUW**

Head Quarters, West Point, July 29, 1779.

Sir: I last night received the favour of your letter of the 27th on the subject of the restoration of the Onondaga prisoners.

It appears to me that the propriety of giving up these prisoners without an equivalent will in a great measure depend on the proportion of the Onondaga nation now on friendly terms with us. If the body of the nation, is with the Oneidas, and they are admitted into our protection, which is already done substantially, it may be proper enough to grant them a favour of this kind as a mark of our generosity and friendship; but if the body of the nation is still inimical to us, it would in my opinion be an indulgence which the remainder have no right to expect, and the relief of our friends in captivity by exchange may have a superior claim to our attention. These are my ideas of the matter; but if the Commissioners, who are better judges of the disposition of the Indians, from motives of policy and a desire of conciliation and to oblige the Oneidas should think it best to deliver up the prisoners, it will be intirely agreeable to me. I therefore leave the matter wholly to their determination. I have the honour, etc.<sup>15</sup>

15. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

**To ABRAHAM ACKERMAN<sup>21</sup>**

Head Quarters, July 30, 1779.

Sir: I have received Your favor to His Excellency, Genl Washington.<sup>22</sup> The conduct of John Springer Junior after the clemency he experienced from his Excellency, has been at least highly

exceptionable. But as he says he has Witnesses to evince his innocence and to prove his attachment, he will be heard and I am satisfied treated, with all the indulgence his case shall deserve. If he goes to the Enemy and should ever be taken he will not have the smallest possible favor to expect from his Country. I am, etc.<sup>23</sup>

**To ISAAC SCHULTZ, MOSES GALE, AND LEONARD D. NICOLL<sup>39</sup>**

West Point, July 31, 1779.

Gentn: I was favoured with your letter by Esquire Nicoll. It gives me pain at all times, to put the inhabitants of any part of the Country to an inconvenience, nor is it ever done but from necessity and a regard to the Public good. In the present instance I can only say that if you can point out proper places for the

21. Of Bergen County, N. J.

22. Not found in the *Washington Papers*.

23. The draft is in the writing of and is signed “R[obert] H[anson] H[arrison] Secy.”

On July 30 Washington wrote a brief note also to Lieut. Col. Robert Ballard, of the Eighth Virginia Regiment, accepting his resignation. This note is in the *Washington Papers*.

39. Trustees of the church at New Windsor, N.Y.

accommodation of the sick that may be approved by Genl. Greene and the director Genl. of the Hospital, I shall be happy, to find the Church at New Windsor, appropriated to the use for which it was originally intended; if not, I make no doubt you will readily acquiesce, in a matter so essential to the public good. I am, etc.<sup>40</sup>

**To PRESIDENT JEREMIAH POWELL AND THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL**

Head Quarters, August 3, 1779.

Gentlemen: Having received intelligence some time since that the Romulus, Daphne and Delaware were preparing to leave New York on a cruise (as was reported) for Boston-bay, in conversation with General Heath, I mentioned to him my intention to transmit the intelligence I had received to the council; which I was induced to decline from his having assured me he had already done it. By the inclosed extract of a letter from a confidential correspondent in New York, the Council will perceive those Vessels were prevented from sailing at the time they intended. But I have just received a letter from Lord Stirling stationed in the Jerseys dated yesterday (an extract from which is also inclosed)<sup>75</sup> by which it appears the ships of war at New York have all put to sea since. I thought it my duty to communicate this intelligence that the vessels employed in the

40. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

75. Hamilton has noted at the bottom of the draft that there were "Inclosed extracts from Culper Juniors' letter of the 29th of July marked between brakets thus [ ]."

expedition to Penobscot may be put upon their guard, as it is probable enough these Ships may be destined against them; and if they should be surprised the con sequences would be disagreeable. I have the honor, etc.<sup>76</sup>

## **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

West point, August 3, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I this minute received a letter from General Sullivan of the 30th Ulto. and a Copy of One of your Brother the General, of both which I inclose you Copies. Your Excellency will be pleased to direct the march of Lt Colo Pauling<sup>80</sup> at such time, and in such manner as you shall judge best. You will also receive a Letter addressed to you, which came with mine.

I have inclosed a line to the General covering a Copy of General Sullivan's orders for his march, which you will be pleased to transmit him, lest any accidents should have prevented him from receiving the Original. A Duplicate of which, according to Genl Sullivan, has been also sent him. I am, etc.<sup>81</sup>

76. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

80. Lieut. Col. Albert Pawling, of the New York levies. He was, later, colonel of levies to the close of the war.

81. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. This letter is in the Washington-Greenwood Papers in the Library of Congress.

**To HENRY VAN VLECK<sup>82</sup>**

West point, August 3, 1779.

Sir: I received Your Letter of the 26th of July. The Officers you mention do not belong to the Continental Army, and if they have done you wrong, your application for redress must be to their State. I am, etc.<sup>83</sup>

**To PRESIDENT JEREMIAH POWELL AND THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL**

West point, August 4, 1779.

Gentlemen: I had the Honor to address you Yesterday, and to transmit you some intelligence from New York. I have since received a Letter to My Lord Stirling from an Officer at Newark, of which a Copy is inclosed. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>89</sup>

82. Of Bethlehem, Pa. Van Vleck's letter is not now found in the Washington Papers.

83. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

89. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, who has added a note that the inclosure was a copy “of Major [Samuel] Haye's Letter to Lord Stirling of the 1st of Augt. transmitted in his of the 3d of Augt.” Copies of these are filed with Washington's letter to Congress, Aug. 5, 1779, in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

West point, August 6[–10], 1779.

Sir: I have been honoured with your Letter of the 17 of July, upon the case of Lt. Governor Hamilton.<sup>23</sup> This subject, on more mature consideration, appears to be involved in greater difficulty than I apprehended. When I first received the proceedings of the Council upon it, transmitted in Your Excellency's letter of the 19th of June, I had no doubt of the propriety of the treatment decreed against Mr. Hamilton, as being founded in principles of a just retaliation. But, upon examining the matter more minutely, and consulting with several intelligent General Officers, it seems to be their opinion, that, Mr. Hamilton could not according to the usage of War after his capitulation, even in the manner it was made, be subjected to any uncommon severity under that idea, and that the capitulation placed him upon a different footing from a mere prisoner at discretion. Whether it may be expedient to continue him in his present confinement from motives of policy and to satisfy our people, it is a question I cannot determine; but if it should, I would take the liberty to suggest, that it may be proper to publish all the Cruelties he has committed or abetted, in a particular manner and the evidence in support of the charges, that the World, holding his conduct in abhorrence, may feel and approve the justice of his fate. Indeed, whatever may be the line of conduct towards him,

23. Henry Hamilton. He was Royal Lieutenant Governor of Detroit.

this may be adviseable. If from the considerations I have mentioned, the rigor of his treatment is mitigated; yet he cannot claim of right upon any ground, the extensive indulgence which General Philips seems to expect for him, and I should not hesitate to withhold from him, a thousand privileges, I might allow to common prisoners. He certainly merits a discrimination and altho' the practice of War may not justify all the measures that have been taken against him, he may unquestionably without any breach of public faith or the least shadow of imputation, be confined to a Room. His safe custody will be an object of great importance. I have the Honor, etc.

P.S. Augst 10. I have received Your Excellency's Letter of the 19th of July with the blank Commissions which I shall fill up as the Council requests.<sup>24</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, West point, August 10, 1779.

Sir: I have had the Honor to receive your Excellency's Favor of the 2d Instant. As circumstances indicated an intention on the part of the Enemy to pursue their ravages, I approve the conduct of Captain Frothingham<sup>34</sup> in offering his services while it

24. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

34. Capt. Benjamin Frothingham, of the Third Continental Artillery. He served to June, 1783.

appeared they might be material. With respect to the Six Field pieces left at Middletown, which your Excellency seems desirous of retaining while there may be a probability of their being wanted in the state, it will be necessary for you to apply to Congress upon the subject, as it is a point in which I have no authority to act. As to Officers and Men to manage the pieces, it is utterly out of my power to supply them. We are deficient in both, very much so in Matrosses, and are obliged upon every occasion where we use Artillery to make large Drafts from the Regiments of Infantry.

I assure You Sir, it will always give me the most sensible satisfaction to afford protection to All and each of the States against the attacks and depredations of the Enemy, and it is a circumstance of great concern whenever I find myself unable to do it, either in the manner I could wish or in which it is requested. Unfortunately I am in this predicament at present, and I cannot detach General Glover's Brigade either to New London or farther from this post than it now is. Our condition, the condition of the Enemy, their expectation of a reinforcement, and other considerations render it impracticable. I had received a Copy of Mr Lee's and Mr. Johnson's Letter<sup>35</sup> before, and I should hope the depredations the Enemy have already committed will satisfy the information. But I confess at the same time I expect nothing either from their justice or their lenity; but from the measures you have pursued for the defence of New London, I should hope it will be secure against their ravages, as an attempt to destroy it, though

35. Not found in the *Washington Papers*.

it might possibly succeed, would in all probability be attended with the loss of a good many men.

With respect to a Field piece for Colo. Mead,<sup>36</sup> I would take the liberty to suggest, that Horseneck appears to me, to be a most ineligible place for Artillery, and that any employed there, without a great body of Troops to cover it, would be eminently exposed and its loss almost certain in case of a Surprise or a rapid movement in force by the Enemy. I would not myself send Field pieces there, with any light detachments, I might have occasion to station in that Quarter. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>37</sup>

## **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

West point, August 14, 1779.

Dr Sir: On the 3d Instant I had the honor to write to Your Excellency and to transmit you a Copy of a Letter I had received from General Sullivan of the 30th. of July with a Copy of One to your Brother the General. Also a Letter addressed to Yourself. As I have not had the pleasure to hear



from Your Excellency since, I have been somewhat anxious lest my dispatches should have miscarried and which is the cause of my troubling you upon the present

36. Col. Matthew Mead, of the Connecticut Militia.

37. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

occasion. I received a Letter last night from Genl. Sullivan dated the 7 at Wyalusing<sup>76</sup> where he had arrived without any opposition, and by a letter from Colo Barber to Major Gibbs, he expected the troops with Genl. Sullivan would reach Tioga<sup>77</sup> the 10th. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>78</sup>

#### **To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

West Point, August 16, 1779.

Dear Sir: I had not the Honor 'till two days ago, to receive Your Excellency's Letter of the 5th. Instant. The whole of the Officers belonging to the Three Jersey Regiments are employed on the Western Expedition with General Sullivan, which circumstance puts it intirely out of my power, to comply with Your Excellencys request for Officers for the recruiting service. If this were not the case, I should fear as Your Excellency does, that the business would not be attended with any great success.

I congratulate Your Excellency on the very favourable and interesting successes of Count D'Estaing in the West Indies. They are very important and the more so, as they may possibly be the means of detaining for the security of the Islands, that part of the reinforcement expected by Sir Henry Clinton from thence,

76. Wyalusing, Bradford County, Pa.

77. Tioga, N. Y.

78. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

which will be a circumstance of great moment to us, especially if the remainder said to be coming from Europe with Adml. Arbuthnot and daily looked for, is as considerable as several advices make it. I hope our next intelligence from the West Indies will announce farther successes on the part of our Allies, and that they will gain a decisive superiority over Adl. Biron. I have the Honor, etc.

P.S. I would beg leave to remind Your Excellency of the Beacons. They should be attended to, as possibly some measures I have heard of on the part of the Enemy, may be preparatory to a movement, and may make it necessary eventually for the Militia to assemble suddenly.<sup>31</sup>

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

West Point, August 16, 1779.

Sir: I have received Your Excellency's obliging Letter of the 23d of July,<sup>29</sup> inclosing one from Mr. Battora which shall be forwarded by the earliest flag, and I shall be happy if it procures him the indulgence which you wish. I am, etc.<sup>30</sup>

31. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

29. Jefferson's letter of July 23, 1779, is in the *Washington Papers*. It makes no mention of Battora or his letter.

30. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

**CIRCULAR TO THE STATES<sup>48</sup>**

Head Quarters, West-point, August 26, 1779.

Sir: In a Letter which I had the Honor of addressing to Your Excellency<sup>49</sup> on the 22d of May, I took the liberty to mention<sup>50</sup> the inconveniences which had prevailed for want of System in the Cloathing department, and the necessity there was for an early appointment of State or Sub Cloathiers, agreeable to the Ordinance established by Congress, by their Act of the 23d of March, with which I presumed Your Excellency<sup>49</sup> had been made acquainted. I am now under the necessity of troubling you with a farther Address, upon the subject of Cloathing itself. From the best information I have been able to obtain, both from returns and particular inquiries, I fear there is but too much reason to apprehend, that unless the Respective States interpose with their exertions, our supplies of this essential Article will be very deficient; and that the troops may again experience on this account a part of those distresses which were so severely and injuriously felt in past Stages of the War, and which a regard to the interests of the States, as well as to the duties of humanity should prevent if it be practicable. I do not know exactly how matters will turn out with respect to<sup>51</sup> Woolen Cloathing, I should hope tolerably well, but if the attention of the State should even go to this, there will be little probability of our having an over supply: But the Articles to which I would take the liberty to solicit Your Excellency's more particular attention, are Blankets,

48. Sent to the governors or presidents of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia.

49. Some of the circulars sent read "to you."

50. Some of the circulars sent read "of mentioning."

51. Some of the circulars omit "respect to."

Shirts, Shoes and Hats (more especially the two first) as our prospect of these is by no means pleasing and such indeed as decides that the supply from the Continental Cloathiers, and Agents will fall far short, or at least stand upon too critical and precarious a footing. The importance and advantages of good supplies of cloathing are evident, and they have been most remarkably and

happily demonstrated in the health of the Troops, since they have been pretty comfortably provided for in this instance, a circumstance of all others the most interesting.

While I am on the subject of Cloathing, I would also beg leave to add, that the condition of the Officers in this respect, appears to me to require the attention of their States. It is really in many instances painfully distressing. The want of necessaries, and of the means of procuring them at their present exorbitant prices, has compelled a great many Officers of good reputation and merit to resign their Commissions; and if they are not relieved, it must be the case with many Others, as they will have no alternative.

I have the Honor, etc.<sup>52</sup>

52. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

The circular is in the Maryland Historical Society, the New Hampshire Historical Society, and the Connecticut State Library. In addition to the minor changes noted above, the spelling, capitalization, and punctuation vary in each of these.

The circular to Governor Jefferson is preceded by the following paragraph, which is entered by Harrison on the verso of the draft: “;Your Excellency I make no doubt has been made fully acquainted with the Ordinance established by Congress by their Act of the 23d of March for regulating the Cloathing department, and recommending the Respective States to appoint State or Sub Cloathiers. I addressed the Other States on this subject on the 22d of May; but deemed the measure unnecessary with respect to Virginia; as a Gentleman had been already appointed to act as such. I have filled up Two of the Commissions transmitted by Your Excellency for John Allison, Gentn. as Lieut Colo of the 1st State Regmt. to rank as such from 1 Jany 1779 vice Brent promoted and for Thos. Meriwether as Major of the same; to rank from the same date vice Allison promoted.”

**CIRCULAR TO THE STATES<sup>53</sup>**

Head Quarters, August 26, 1779.

Sir: I have the honor to inclose your Excellency a list of sundry officers belonging to your state who have been in captivity and are reported by the Commissary of Prisoners as violators of parole. A conduct of this kind so ignominious to the individuals themselves, so dishonorable to their country and to the service in which they have been engaged, and so injurious to those Gentlemen who were associated with them in misfortune, but preserved their honor, demands, that every measure should be taken to deprive them of the benefit of their delinquency and to compel their return. We have pledged ourselves to the enemy to do every thing in our power for this purpose, and in consequence I directed Mr. Beatty, Commissary

53. Another circular, in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade, is in the Maryland Historical Society and is accompanied by a list of Maryland officers who violated their parole, to wit, Capt. Richard Davis, Lieuts. William Piles, James Tool, and Jacob Carsdorph. Of these, Davis, of whose first name there seems to be some question, and Tool (or Toole) were taken prisoners at Fort Washington in November, 1776; Davis retired in January, 1781; Garsdorph (or Cardorff) is recorded a prisoner in 1780; and Piles, who was in Rawling's regiment, had his name dropped from the rolls in September, 1778, with the notation “;Prisoner broke parole.”;

of Prisoners, to issue the summons, which you will probably have seen in the public papers. But as it is likely to have a very partial operation, I find it necessary in aid of it, to request the interposition of the executive powers of the different states to enforce a compliance. Most of these persons never having been and none of them now being in Continental service, military authority will hardly be sufficient to oblige them to leave their places of residence and return to captivity, against their inclination: Neither will it be difficult for them to elude a military search and keep themselves in concealment. I must therefore entreat that your Excellency will be pleased to take such measures as shall appear to you proper and effectual to produce their immediate return. This will be rendering an essential service to our Officers in general, in captivity, will tend much to remove the difficulties,

which now lie in the way of exchanges and to discourage the practice of violating paroles in future.  
I have the honor, etc.<sup>54</sup>

54. In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The text is from the original in the Connecticut State Library.

## **CIRCULAR TO THE STATES**

West point, August 28, 1779.

Sir: I take the liberty and indeed I am compelled by necessity to transmit to your Excellency the Copy of a Letter, I received yesterday from Colo Wadsworth the Commissary General, which places our supplies of flour in a very serious and alarming point of view. The subject is so very important and interesting, that I am perfectly convinced it will engage your Excellencys immediate attention, and that nothing in your power will be omitted that can contribute to our instant relief, and to promote our future supplies of this Essential Article. I will not detail the consequences of a failure of flour at this time; they will but too sensibly strike your Excellency, but I think they may be fatal. Besides the common demands of the Army it is highly probable we shall be obliged in the course of a few days, to call in aid from the Militia, which will encrease our expenditures, as Admiral Arbuthnot and his Fleet have arrived at New York according to advices, with a considerable reinforcement. It is likely the deficiency may arise in a great measure, from the exhausted state of the old Crop and the New not being yet threshed or carried to the Mills; Your Excellency's attention will go to these points, and as I have already observed, I am satisfied you will adopt and practise every expedient that shall seem to promise relief. I have the Honor etc.<sup>82</sup>

82. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, and is addressed to the governors of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland.

## **To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Head Quarters, West point, August 30, 1779.

Dear Sir: By a letter from General Sullivan of the 20th. I am informed that he expected to be joined by Genl. Clinton at Tioga the day following, and to move forward the 23d. He expresses his apprehensions, that the stock of provisions, which he then had on hand, would not be more than sufficient, if enough, to carry him thro' the Indian Country; and therefore wishes that a further supply may be deposited at Wyoming, which may be carried forward if necessary, or be ready for the subsistence of the Army upon its return to that place. On the 15th. instant, I directed the Commy. General to be drawing together a supply of provisions at some safe and convenient place in General Sullivan's rear, as I did not then know what opposition he might meet with, in his passage up the River, I did not choose to order it to be advanced to Wyoming; but he

having made his way good as far as Tioga, (indeed I may say Chemung which he has destroyed) I yesterday gave the Commissary General orders to establish a magazine at Wyoming, where Colo. Butler is left with a Garrison.

The Commissary General expressed his wishes that Your Excellency might be desired to give his deputy to the Westward your countenance and assistance in procuring and forwarding the supplies to the place of destination. I am so well persuaded that I have only to make the request, to have it granted, that I shall confide in your Excellency's taking proper measures to effect the desired purposes. I am, etc.<sup>4</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, West Point, August 31, 1779.

Dear Sir: I was yesterday honoured with your Excellency's letter of the 27th: previous to the rect. of it, I had granted a reprieve to Case, not from any thing that could possibly be urged in extenuation of his guilt, but out of compassion to his connections, who were represented to me as numerous

and reputable. I am the more happy that the matter turns out as it has done, as your Excellency interested yourself in the Affair.

4. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

The inclosed I received yesterday from Govr. Livingston. I have the honor, etc.<sup>10</sup>

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, West Point, August 31, 1779.

Dr Sir: I have the honor to inclose the copy of a letter of yesterday from Major General Heath; which as it relates to a matter of Civil concern, I think it my duty to communicate to Your Excellency.

In a letter of the 20th. from General Sullivan, he sends me the copy of one from General Clinton, by which and by what he mentions himself the junction was to have been formed the next day. Lt. Col. Pauling did not join at Anaquaga, nor had he had heard of. I have the honor, etc.<sup>11</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, West-point, September 3, 1779.

Sir: I was honoured yesterday with your Excellency's

10. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

11. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

letter of the 30th ulto. and am much obliged for the information transmitted, altho' I had received it several days before from Colo Meade. I am happy to inform your Excellency, that I believe the intelligence obtained by Major General Wolcot with respect to the Enemy's reinforcements is highly



exaggerated. None of my late accounts place the Troops that arrived with Admiral Arbuthnot at more than Four Thousand, and some their number at a good deal less. In the debates in parliament, they were not estimated higher than the first. And, with respect to those mentioned to be gone to the Southward and Hallifax, I flatter myself there is no foundation for the report.

Whatever the real designs of the Enemy may be, I cannot think that their position by any means decides, that they are to be directed against Connecticut. I cannot mark with precision the degree of aid, I may be able to give Your Excellency in case of emergency; but you may rest assured that I shall upon all occasions, afford such as our circumstances will permit; and should the main body of the Enemy operate in Connecticut, I shall most certainly march to oppose them, with all the force I can consistently employ for the purpose. The defences of the North River are by no means complete, or so far advanced as your Excellency seems to apprehend, however I hope by perseverance and a close attention to them, they will in a few weeks, be on a pretty respectable footing; and such as will justify their being intrusted to a much smaller part of the Army than is now necessarily employed to carry them on.

I beg leave to congratulate your Excellency on the Manifesto delivered by his Catholic Majesty to the Court of London, as published in the Papers. It is a very interesting event and cannot fail I think, to produce the most happy consequences. I have the Honor, etc.

P. S. Genl Glovers Brigade already holds a position East of the Army, and will move in case of exigency to succour the Militia.<sup>38</sup>

**To MRS. JEREMIAH DUGGAN**

Head Quarters, West-point, September 4, 1779

Madam: I sincerely wish it was in my power to give you that satisfaction which you have desired relative to Mr. Duggan<sup>42</sup> your husband. My inquiries have been able only to ascertain his going to St. Eustatius, but under what circumstances I am altogether uninformed.

In looking over the Resolves of Congress I find several sums voted Mr. Duggan under the description of supplies and services all in the year 1776, amounting in the whole to 1584 Dollars. But I cannot say whether he is entitled to more, or if he has completed his demands on the States.

Wishing you such accounts from him as may be perfectly satisfactory. I am, etc.<sup>43</sup>

38. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

42. Lieut. Col. Jeremiah Duggan, of the Rangers. He had furnished supplies to Arnold's Canadian expedition.

43. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

#### **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, West Point, September 6, 1779.

Dear Sir: I have recd. your Excellency's favr. of the 1st. Inst. by Lt. Colo. Pawling. Before the Rect. of your letter I had heard of his return, but never entertained a doubt of his having exerted himself to reach Anaquaga at the appointed time. I hope as the junction between Generals Sullivan and Clinton has taken place, without any difficulty or loss, that this small diminution of force will have no effect upon their operations. I shall leave the disposition of Colo. Pawling for the present, entirely to your Excellency, only wishing that his position may be such, if circumstances will admit, that he may join the main Army, on short notice should the movements of the enemy make it necessary to collect our whole force. I am to return your Excellency my sincere thanks for your ready attention to my requisitions on the subject of provision and Cloathing. I am, etc.<sup>74</sup>

#### **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, West-point, September 7, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I herewith transmit to your Excellency several

74. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

papers, with a letter from Elias Boudinot Esqr. relative to the case of a certain Hallet<sup>75</sup> who is said to be an inhabitant of Long Island. As I do not consider him cognizable by the military Maws, but more properly falling under the jurisdiction of the State to which he belongs, I have therefore sent him under guard to your Excellency.

I also inclose a letter from himself to me, which may give some further particulars of the man. I would only observe that Hallet was appointed a Captain by warrant (in 1776) and ordered to raise a company; he did not succeed in this attempt and was some time after discharged from the army. I have the honor, etc.<sup>76</sup>

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, West Point, September 7, 1779.

Dear Sir: I yesterday reed. your favr. of the 3d Inst. I thank your Excellency for your attention to mine on the subject of Officers who have violated their paroles, and on the prospect of a scarcity of Flour. I have little doubt but that the farmers will thresh out part of their Grain earlier than usual, when influenced by a few virtuous individuals in each district.

It hath been our constant practice hitherto to exchange Officer for Officer of equal Rank giving a preference to

75. Samuel(?) Hallett, of Queens County, N. Y.

76. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

those who have been longest in captivity. We have several times endeavoured to settle a Tariff for enlarging the scale of Exchanges by composition where circumstances of equality of Rank would not apply, but we have not been able to agree upon one. I have the honor, etc.<sup>80</sup>

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, West Point, September 8, 1779.

Dear Sir: I have the pleasure to inform you, that the junction between Generals Sullivan and Clinton having been formed at Tioga, the whole Army moved the 26th Augt. On the 29th the advanced party of Riflemen announced the Enemy at a place called the Newtown, and that they were advantageously posted and intrenched. General Sullivan, having reconnoitred them, made his dispositions, and attacked them in front and flank at the same time. Their lines (which he says were more judiciously constructed than could have been expected) were quickly carried, and the enemy fled with the greatest precipitation, leaving eleven Warriors dead upon the field, a number of Arms, packs, Blankets and all their Baggage. A Negro and a White were taken prisoners, from them, General Sullivan learned, that the force of the Enemy had consisted of five Companies

80. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

of Whites and the Warriors from seven Indian Nations, under the command of the two Butlers, Brant and McDonald, and that they had been eight days waiting at that place. The fields of Corn, Beans and Vegetables were very extensive, and were all destroyed. Our loss was 3 Killed and 39 Wounded, among the latter, Major Titcomb<sup>99</sup> Capt. Clause<sup>1</sup> and Mr. McAulay<sup>2</sup> of General Poors Brigade. Mr McAulay since dead. I imagine the inclosed, which came with my dispatches, will give your Excellency an Account of the above Affair.

I expect the Count la Luzerne, the new Minister of France, will be here in a few days, on his way to Philada. Should your Excellency chuse to pay him a Visit, I will inform you of his arrival by Express. I have the honor, &c.<sup>3</sup>

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters, West Point, September 13, 1779.

Sir: I have the honor to inclose your Excellency the Copy of a Letter from Mr. Loring British Commissary of Prisoners to our Commissary of prisoners respecting the measures which have been taken in the case of Lieutenant Governor Hamilton and the enemy's intentions of retaliation in Consequence. By this your Excellency will be able to Judge, how far it may be expedient to relax in the present

99. Maj. Benjamin Titcomb, of the First New Hampshire Regiment. He had been wounded also at Hubbardton, Vt., in July, 1777; promoted to lieutenant colonel in March, 1780; retired in January, 1781.

1. Capt. Elijah Clayes (Clause), of the Second New Hampshire Regiment. He died in November, 1779, of his wounds.

2. Lieut. Nathaniel McCauley, of the First New Hampshire Regiment. He died on August 30 of the wounds he received.

3. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The text is from a photostat of the original kindly furnished by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of New York City.

treatment of Mr. Hamilton. Colo. Mathews<sup>40</sup> who will have the honor of delivering this, comes out at the request of the Virginia Officers in Captivity to solicit such indulgence for him and his

companions, as will induce the enemy to relinquish the Execution of their threats. I have the honor,  
etc.<sup>41</sup>

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, West point, September 17, 1779.

Dear Sir: I have had the pleasure of your Excellencys favr. of the 14th: and am obliged by the  
communication of Colo. Van Dyck's<sup>84</sup> letter, which affords a pleasing prospect of Indian Affairs.

The Chevalier de La Luzerne sets out this morning for Philada.

I have no regular Maps of the Western Country except Evans's, Hollands and such as are in print.  
I have some detached Sketches to copies of which your Excellency shall be welcome if you deem  
them material. I am etc.<sup>85</sup>

40. Col. George Mathews, of the Ninth Virginia Regiment. He had been taken prisoner at  
Germantown in October, 1777; exchanged in December, 1781; served to close of the war.

41. The contemporary copy is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

84. Lieut. Col. Cornelius Van Dyke, of the First New York Regiment. He was appointed colonel in  
September, 1783.

85. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

**To GOVERNORS JONATHAN TRUMBULL, GEORGE CLINTON, AND WILLIAM  
LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, September 27, 1779.

Dr. Sir: Several concurring reports lead so strongly to a supposition that a French Squadron may be approaching our coast, that I think we cannot with propriety altogether neglect them. If this event should take place, it will be incumbent upon us to exert our utmost resources in a cooperation; and I shall be under a necessity of applying to the adjacent states for very considerable aid of men and supplies, particularly in the article of flour of which our prospects are extremely limited and unpromising. In the present uncertainty, without any official advice of the measure, I do not think we should be justified in adding to our embarrassments, by calling out a body of Militia beforehand; but I think it my duty to give Your Excellency the present intimation, that you may have the goodness to preconcert such arrangements as will be best adapted to a prompt and effectual compliance with the applications I may have occasion to make. These as I observed will reach to a speedy and ample supply of men, of provisions, and I may add the means of transportation, which will also require particular attention in an emergency of this kind. It will be essential that the men should come out properly equipped and organized, that there may be no delay or trouble on this head; and that they should be obliged to serve two or three months after they join the army.

Your Excellency will be sensible how much the honor and interest of these States must be concerned in a vigorous cooperation, should the event I have supposed happen; and I shall place the fullest confidence in that wisdom and energy of which Your Excellency's conduct has afforded such frequent and decisive proofs. With the most perfect respect etc.<sup>61</sup>

[H.L.]

### **To VOLKERT PIETERSE DOUW**

Head Quarters, West point, September 27, 1779.

Sir: I have been favd. with yours of the 12th inclosing Copy of your speech to the Oneidas and Tuscaroras. I think you were perfectly right in ordering back and detaining the three Onondagas to whom you had granted their liberty upon parole, untill they should send back the seven who had

made their escape. I congratulate you and the other Commissioners upon the happy prospect of the success of Genl. Sullivan's expedition, which I hope will

61. In the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

make a lasting impression upon the minds of the Savages. I have the honor, etc.<sup>63</sup>

## **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, West Point, September 30, 1779.

Sir:<sup>99</sup> The irregularities and injuries which have been committed against the Inhabitants of Long Island and of other places in the possession of the Enemy, by persons who professed to have no other views than these Men profess, as Your Excellency observes, have been exceedingly great, and I do not believe it will be possible to prevent a repetition of them, but by wholly discountenancing and prohibiting the business in the manner your Excellency has already done, or that any line of discrimination can be established. But however this might be, I have no alternative in the case, Congress having by their Act of the 22d of June enjoined it in a particular manner on all the Officers of the Army to use their exertions to prevent the parties from going to Long Island or Other places in the possession of the Enemy under the idea of seizing or destroying Tory property. The distinction between Whig and Tory, Friend and Foe is so easy to set up, especially where it is the interest of such parties to do it, that even many of our best and fast friends under the pretext of their being of the latter sort, have had their property

63. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

99. The draft begins: "I had yesterday afternoon the honor to receive your Excellency's letter of the 24th inclosing the memorial of Peter Griffing and Jonathan Veal. Whenever it is in my power I shall be happy to comply with your Excellency's wishes and recommendation, but in the present instance it is not." This has been crossed off.



wrested from them in the most unjustifiable, cruel and impolitic manner. This as I have observed has been the case, but I would not by any means have it understood that I suspect Mr. Griffing and Veal to have committed or abetted in the smallest degree any thing of the kind. If they had and Your Excellency had had the most distant idea of it, I am certain they would have met at least with the severest reproof, and that you would have been among the last to interest yourself in their present solicitations.

By reports from New York, the British Grenadiers and Light Infantry and the 7th Regiment are said to have sailed from the Hook on the 25th in the afternoon under the command of Lord Cornwallis,<sup>1</sup> and the reports add that a second division rather larger was embarking and to follow. Their destination not known, but supposed to be Southward. A number of provision and Store Ships lately arrived<sup>2</sup> are also said to have fallen down without breaking bulk, to sail with the Troops.

I received last night a South Carolina paper of the 8th instant, by which it appears that an Officer of Count D'Estaing's had arrived at Charles Town with dispatches, announcing that the Count and his fleet were near that Coast. I flatter myself our next advices from thence will inform us that his Excellency has struck some important and interesting Stroke against the Enemy in the Southern Quarter. I have the honor &c.<sup>3</sup>

1. This was the expedition bound for Jamaica.
2. The draft has, at this point, the words "from Cork" crossed off.
3. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, October 1, 1779.

Dr Sir: I have received your two favours of the 25th and 29th. I am obliged to your Excellency for the assurance of all the assistance in the power of this State in case of a cooperation with our allies. The degree of aid which will be necessary for this state cannot well be determined beforehand, it will depend on the force of the enemy and the state of our magazines at the moment. In the former we may every day expect material changes, as the enemy seem to be employed in making extensive detachments. I can only in general observe, that the operation will in all probability be as prompt as possible and will require the calling out all the resources of the neighbouring states in a speedy and decisive effort. It therefore remains with Your Excellency to determine what force the State can afford as we may expect the whole will be wanted.

I have the pleasure to inform you that I have received advices of the arrival of Count D'Estaing on the Coast of Georgia. A Charles Town paper of the 8th of September mentions the arrival of the Viscount De Fontanges<sup>24</sup> at that place, sent express by Count D Estaing to announce his approach. Mr Mitchel the D. Q. M. G. at Philadelphia who transmits the paper adds that Mr Gerard had received dispatches from the Count himself, informing him of his intention to attack the enemy on the 9th<sup>25</sup> and that in consequence of this

24. Lieut.-Col. Vicomte de Fontages. He was wounded at the siege of Savannah.

25. The siege of Savannah began September 23 and the final assault was made Oct. 19, 1779.

intelligence The Minister had deferred his departure a few days in expectation of the event. This agreeable news gives us hope the effectual deliverance of the Southern States and perhaps lessens the probability of the Counts coming this way; but it does not intirely destroy it. We should still be preparing. With the truest respect etc.

The letters contained in yr Excellency's of the 25th have been forwarded.<sup>26</sup>

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, West Point, October 4, 1779.

Sir: I have the honor to inclose your Excellency the Copy of a Resolution of Congress of the 26th of September, by which you will perceive they expect the arrival of<sup>66</sup> his Excellency Count D'Estaing; and that I am directed to pursue measures for co-operating with him, and to call upon the several States for such aid as shall appear to me necessary for this important purpose. In compliance with these directions, I have made an estimate of the force of Militia which will be indispensable, in conjunction with the Continental Troops; and have apportioned this force to the neighbouring States according to the best judgment I am able

26. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton The letter sent is in the collection of Frederick S. Peck, of Providence, R. I. (1934).

66. The draft has “an armament under.”

to form of their respective circumstances and abilities. The number I have to request of the state of New York is two thousand five hundred. § In forming this estimate, I assure your Excellency I have fixed upon the smallest number which appeared to me adequate to the exigency, [on account of the scantiness of our supplies], and I think it my duty explicitly to declare that the cooperation will altogether depend on a full compliance with these requisitions. If I am so happy as to obtain the whole number demanded a decisive stroke may be attempted against New York with a reasonable prospect of success. If the supply falls short the disappointment will inevitably produce a failure in the undertaking. In this case, Congress and my Country must excuse a want of enterprize and success of which the want of means will have been the unfortunate cause. If the honor and interest of the States suffer from thence, the blame must not be imputed to me.

I have taken the liberty to dwell on these points to induce a persuasion that I have not in any degree exaggerated the number of Men really necessary, lest a supposition of this kind and a regard to the ease of the people should relax the exertions of the State and occasion a deficiency which would certainly be fatal to the views of Congress and to the expected co-operation.

I am now to add to this request another equally essential which is that the most effectual and expeditious means be immediately adopted to have the Men drawn out properly equipped<sup>67</sup> to serve for the term of three Months from the time they join the

67. The draft has “and embodied.”

Army unless the particular service for which they are drawn out should be sooner performed. I beg leave to recommend Fishkill as a proper place of rendezvous. If the laws of the State now in existence or the powers vested in your Excellency are not competent to these objects, permit me to intreat that the legislature may be called together without loss of time, and that you will be pleased to employ your influence to procure laws for the purpose, framed on such principles as will secure an instant and certain execution.

[There are other objects which I beg leave at the same time to recommend to the most zealous and serious attention of the State. These are, the making every exertion to promote the supplies of the Army in provisions, particularly in the Article of Flour, and to facilitate the transportation in general of necessaries for the use of the Army. Our prospects with respect to Flour are to the last degree embarrassing; we are already distressed; but when we come to increase the demand by so large an addition of numbers, we may expect to be obliged to disband the troops for want of subsistence unless the utmost care and energy of the different legislatures are exerted. The difficulties we daily experience on the score of transportation justify equal apprehensions on that account without a similar attention to this part of the public service.

These difficulties were sufficient to deter me from the plan I mean to pursue, were I not convinced that the magnitude of the object will call forth all the Vigor of the States and inspire the people with a disposition to second the plans of their Governors, and give

efficacy to the measures they adopt.] I doubt not our resources will be found fully adequate to the undertaking if they are properly exerted, and when I consider the delicacy of the Crisis, and the importance of the object to be attained, I cannot doubt that this will be the case. On one side, the

reputation of our Councils and our Arms and an immediate removal of the War present themselves, on the other, disgrace and disappointment, an accumulation of expence, loss of Credit with our Allies and the World, loss of confidence in ourselves, the exhausting our Magazines and Resources, the precipitated decay of our Currency and the continuance of the War. Nor will these evils be confined to ourselves. Our Allies must share in them, and suffer the mortification of having accomplished nothing to compensate for withdrawing their operations from a quarter where they had a right to expect success, and for exposing their own possessions to hazard in a fruitless attempt to rescue ours.

From the accounts received we are hourly to look for the appearance of the French Squadron on this Coast; the emergency is pressing, and all our measures ought to be attended with suitable expedition. Every moment is of infinite value.

With the most perfect reliance on your Excellency's exertions and on those of the State, and with the greatest Respect and Esteem I have the honor, etc.<sup>68</sup>

[M. L.]

68. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words within the brackets were inserted by Washington in the draft, which is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton and Robert Hanson Harrison.

The same letter was sent to Governors Trumbull and Livingston, President Reed, of Pennsylvania, and Jeremiah Powell, of Massachusetts. In the letter to President Reed, the following was inserted at the point marked §: "I have rated its proportion thus low from a consideration of the extensive calls upon it for transportation and other aids on which our operations must essentially depend and in which all the energy of the State will be requisite." In the letter to Jeremiah Powell the following was inserted at the point marked §: "which I should hope may be easily furnished from its Western Counties. I have rated it's proportion thus low from a consideration that it may possibly be necessary for it to send a farther number to Rhode Island, when the Troops are drawn from thence, to prevent the Enemy in that Quarter from attempting anything on the Continent, which however

I think is not to be expected.” The portion within the brackets was omitted entirely in the letter to Powell.

With the draft is filed a memo, by Harrison: “Account of requisitions and the places of Rendezvous for the Levies in first instance. From Massachusetts 2,000 Men; Rendezvous: Claverack. Connecticut 4,000: Stratford and Seabrook. New York, 2,500: Fishkill. Jersey, 2,000: Pumpton, Pennsylvania, 1,500: Trenton. [Total] 12,000.”

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, West Point, October 4, 1779.

Sir: It is essential that some good pilots should be ready to go on Board the French fleet the moment it appears perfectly acquainted with the entrance into New York harbour. Wm. Van Drill who resides in your State I am informed is one of the best that can be had. I shall be much obliged to your Excellency immediately to engage Mr Van Drill to go down to Monmouth and join Major Lee at English Town who is instructed on the subject. If there are any others on whose skill and fidelity we can depend within your Excellency's reach, I request they may be also sent. It will be a point on which the successive operations will much depend that the Count should have it in his power to enter on his first arrival; I therefore entreat your Excellency's immediate and particular attention to the procuring of pilots. I have the honor, etc.

Samuel Ashleton at Brunswick Isaac Symonson Elizabeth Town are recommended as good hook pilots.<sup>64</sup>

64. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, West Point, October 5, 1779.

Dear Sir: I wrote to you yesterday requesting the favr. of you to procure certain pilots at present in Jersey, and send them down to Major Lee at English Town, Monmouth County. I must now desire your Excellency to direct the Pilots to rendezvous at Trenton instead of English town, and upon their arrival at the former place, report themselves to Colo. Jno. Cox Asst. Qr. Mr. Genl. and take their further orders from him. I am, etc.<sup>89</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, West Point, October 7, 1779.

Sir: I had the honor of addressing your Excellency on the 4th instant upon the subject of an expected co-operation with the Count D'Estaing against the common Enemy. I find upon a consultation with Brigadier General Knox, that the probable expenditure of ammunition, should such an event take place, will be more than our Continental Magazines are likely to afford. You must be so fully sensible of the consequences which would follow the

89. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

interruption of our operations for want of powder, even for one day, that I shall make no apology for requesting a loan from the State of Connecticut, of as much of that article, from their private Magazines, as they can possibly spare, should any enterprise of consequence, in conjunction with the fleet and army of His Most Christian Majesty be undertaken. I have upon every occasion, so fully experienced your Excellency's zeal, and attention to the concerns of the general interest, that I am convinced of your using all your influence with the State in obtaining the grant of this my request. I shall be glad to know what reliance I may have upon you and what quantity I may expect. I have the honor, etc.

Ps. I have this moment been honored with yours of the 2d, the contents of which afford me great pleasure. Your Excellency may depend on the earliest intelligence of the Count's approach. I beg leave to refer you to mine of the 4th. for the particulars required in yours of the 2d.<sup>4</sup>

## To JEREMIAH POWELL

Head Quarters, West Point, October 7, 1779.

Sir: I had the honor of addressing you on the 4th Inst. upon the subject of an expected co-operation with His Excellency Count D'Estaing against the common enemy. Upon consulting Major

4. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

Genl. Greene Qr. Mr. Genl. and Brigr. Genl Knox commanding the Artillery I am apprehensive that we shall fall short in two most essential Articles, Gun powder and Tents. Of the former, we have lately been much disappointed, by the failure of the arrival of a supply from the West Indies. You and the Gentlemen of the Council must be so fully sensible of the consequences which would follow the interruption of our operations for want of powder, even for one day, that I shall make no apology for requesting a loan from the State of Massachusetts of as much of that Article, from their private Magazines, as can possibly be spared, should an operation of any consequence be undertaken in conjunction with the french fleet and Army. General Greene calculates the probable deficiency of Tents at 1500. Should it be possible for the State to furnish the Continent with that number, it will render a most essential public service, and I will engage that they shall be re placed or paid for as may be most agreeable.<sup>2</sup>

Should a joint operation against New York be determined upon, the service of a number of Men, well acquainted with the management of Boats, will be most material, indeed, I know not how we should be able to make a descent without them. It is the opinion of some Gentlemen, with whom I have conversed that it would be possible to engage a number of sailors at Boston and other Coast Towns in the State for this purpose. Should the measure be found practicable, I should esteem it as a favor if the Council would undertake the raising of a number, not exceeding one thousand, with a proper proportion of Officers. The Men



2. At this point there is crossed off the following: "I shall be glad of an answer to the foregoing request as soon as possible, and if granted, whether the whole or what part may be relied on."

to be engaged to the last of December unless the service should admit of their discharge sooner, and both Officers and Men to draw the pay of the Navy. Should we, as I hope we shall if we operate, command the navigation of the sound, the Men may be brought from Bedford or some part of Rhode Island by Water. Your answer to the several points contained in this letter, as early as possible, will oblige me much. I have the honor, etc.<sup>3</sup>

**To MISS DELANCEY**

Head Quarters, October 8, 1779.

Madam: In all applications such as you have made, I have uniformly referred the persons to the State of which they were subjects. When you have obtained the permission of the governor to go into New York, and to return with such property as he may permit, I shall give you my pass-port, and what other protection may be necessary on the occasion. I am, etc.<sup>13</sup>

3. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

13. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

**To ABRAHAM ACKERMAN**

Head Quarters, October 9, 1779.

Sir: I have received your Letter of the 5th Instant and am much obliged to the Court<sup>31</sup> for their attention in the case of John Springer Junior, and for committing him to the custody of the Sheriff. In a few days I shall give such orders about him as will be consistent with justice and my duty to the public. In the mean time he will remain in custody of the Sheriff. His conduct in deserting to the Enemy and bearing Arms for a long time against his Country would have well justified the severest

punishment to have been inflicted upon him; but it was still more criminal, after obtaining a pardon for his past delinquency and the indulgence

31. Of Bergen County, N.J.

to act as Waggon Driver at his own particular request and solicitation, that he might not be liable to fall into the Enemy's hands, a circumstance of which he affected to be much afraid, to attempt in the course of Two or three days to enlist Men for the Enemy's service and actually prevailed on several to desert. From this trait of his character I fear there is little ground to expect a reformation in him. There is no sentence against him at this time, which will effect his life or even subject him to corporal punishment and whether there ever will be one will depend intirely upon himself. I am, etc.<sup>32</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, West Point, October 10, 1779.

Dear Sir: I find, upon recurring to my letter of the 7th. to your Excellency, that I was not sufficiently explicit in answering that part of yours of the 2d instant, in which you desire to know, whether, in my opinion, the Militia at present on duty on the Coast may be safely withdrawn from thence in case of the expected operations, and be considered as part of the 4000 demanded of the State. They undoubtedly may under such circumstances, because the enemy must, during the course of the operations, be confined to

32. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

On this same day (October 9) Washington wrote to Thomas Boyd, sheriff of Bergen County, requesting him to deliver Springer to Lieutenant Colonel Washington. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

the defensive only, and that, upon a very contracted plan. The troops that are already drawn out and upon the Coast, may remain at their present stations till more particularly called for. I only wish that they may be formed into proper sized Regiments, compleatly officered, and in every respect ready to march at a moments warning, and that a return may be made to me specifying the Corps, their Stations, and the Officers upon whom I may call to march and join the Army when necessary. Those wanting to compleat the number of 4000 may rendezvous at Seabrook and Stratford as requested in mine of the 4th Instt. [or join those now on the Coast as you shall judge best]. I must beg your attention to that part of mine of the 4th which respects the time of service of the Militia now required, perhaps that, of those of whom we have been speaking, (except Colo. Meads and Colo. Wells's<sup>44</sup> Regiments) may expire before the stipulated time. If so, they must either be engaged anew, or others must be prepared to relieve them upon the Ground, as the deficiency of so large a number, at a critical Moment, might be fatal to the whole plan of operations. I have the honor, etc.<sup>45</sup>

## **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, West Point, October 10, 1779.

Dear Sir: I have with great pleasure recd. your Excellency's

44. Cols. Matthew Mead and Levi Wells, of the Connecticut State regiments.

45. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The text is from the original in the Connecticut State Library. The phrase in brackets in the draft is in the writing of Washington.

favour of the 7th. Your plan of ordering the Militia to bring out 40 days flour of their own, will be a great relief to the Commissary General who is only under apprehensions on account of that Article. Of meat he gives me assurances of any quantity that may be required. The Quarter Master Genl. is making every possible preparation for Camp equipage. We shall probably be deficient in tents, tho'

if I succeed in an application to the State of Massachusetts for 1500, I hope we shall have nearly sufficient. I believe there will be no want of Camp Kettles.

I have not heard any thing further from the Southward or of Count D'Estaing since I wrote to you last, but I expect every moment some material information.

The inclosed papers were sent out a few days ago by a flag. As they contain regulations for the future admission of persons wanting to go into the City of New York, I thought it proper to transmit them to your Excellency. I am, etc.<sup>46</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, West-point, October 15, 1779.

Dr Sir: I have been duly favored with your Excellency's

46. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

letter of yesterdays date, and thank you, for your ready attention to my requisitions.

The moment I receive the intelligence from the Count which is to determine our operations; or how far the assistance of the Country will be necessary to carry them into execution, I shall do myself the honor to give you the earliest advice. I wait anxiously for this communication, for as your Excellency observes the season is coming upon us very fast.

I congratulate you on the success of our Western expedition. Every thing is completely destroyed in the Country of the hostile Indians, and the whole undertaking finished with the most inconsiderable loss. The army under General Sullivan I expect is, by this time at Easton on its march to this place. I have the honor, etc.<sup>81</sup>

**To HENRY REMSEN, JUNIOR<sup>97</sup>**

Head Quarters, West point, October 17, 1779.

Sir: I have been favored with your letter of the 10th inst. with its inclosure from Governor Livingston.<sup>98</sup>

It would give me a great deal of pleasure to comply with your application, could it be done without breaking in upon that line of conduct, which I have uniformly observed in like

81. In the writing of James McHenry. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

97. He was later a clerk in the Office of Foreign Affairs, Continental Congress, and also in the office of the Secretary of Congress.

98. Not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

cases. For a variety of reasons I have referred all requests of this kind made to me, to the Government of which the applicants were subjects. You will readily see the propriety of persevering the same line of conduct.

I should hope that a letter to some of your former connections in the City and the precautions of your mother may be able to accomplish what you have so greatly at heart. I shall very cheerfully give every assistance in this case which may be necessary.

I am much obliged to you for the intelligence contained in the Governors letter. It is of a very interesting nature at this crisis. I am, etc.<sup>99</sup>

## **To THE VIRGINIA BOARD OF WAR**

West point, October 20, 1779.

Sir: I have been honoured with the Board's Letter of the 18th Ulto. and am exceedingly sorry to find that they had to encounter such difficulties with respect to supplies of Cloathing for the Troops of

their State. I hope however from the disposition they shew and the exertions they had determined to make, that the Troops, both Officers and Men, will not experience even for the present, the distresses they have heretofore suffered from a scantiness of Supplies in this instance,

99. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

and in future from the providence of the Board as well as their inclination that these will be still lessened. As to the means or mode of doing it, the Board from their own experience and a superior knowledge of their own resources and of a variety of local circumstances will be better able to determine than I possibly can; however I should think, the State itself importing the Cloathing or at least all the Articles for it in the first instance, would be the most eligible plan from every consideration. I inclose a description of the Uniform agreed on for the Virginia line, in a general arrangement that has been adopted.

The putting of the Militia on a respectable Military footing, is certainly a desirable object and whatever can ought to be done to effect it. In a Country however like ours, where the Inhabitants are thinly settled, and where the laws which have generally prevailed, have not in their foundation been much calculated to introduce discipline and less attended to in their execution, it is a Work at least of great difficulty. All reforms must be the result of Legislative establishments, and the nearer these can be brought to the System which governs regular Armies, the better; the genius however and the prejudices of the people must be regarded. The first and most essential point is to arm them, this done, the bare report will have an influence to prevent invasions and descents.

I will communicate such parts of the Board's Letter as relate to Captain Travis, to Mr Beatty, Commissary of prisoners who will take occasion to transmit the account to Mr. Loring,

although I do not think it very essential.

I have now only to request that the Board will accept my warm acknowledgements for the very polite terms of their Letter, and assurances that I have the honor, etc.<sup>31</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, West point, October 22, 1779.

Dear Sir: I have yet recd. no Official Accounts from the southward. The inclosed was brought the day before yesterday from Philada. The Gentleman who transmits the account from thence and Colo. Patton who brought the intelligence from North Carolina, are both so worthy of credibility that I flatter myself it will prove substantially true; although it is difficult to account for its not having arrived officially to Philada, as so much time had elapsed since the action is said to have happened.

The Enemy yesterday set fire to and abandoned their Works upon Stoney and Verplanks points and have fallen down the River. I have the honor, etc.<sup>19</sup>

31. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

19. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

**To MRS. ANN ROBINSON**

Head Quarters, West-point, October 27, 1779.

Madam: I have received your letter of the 18th of last month relative to the Slave which Col. Morgan had secured.

The Col. is now in Virginia, I have however written to him on the subject, and hope it will be attended with her restitution I am, etc.<sup>63</sup>

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, West point, October 29, 1779.

Dear Sir: I am just honored with yours of last evening, and am sorry to find inclosures of so disagreeable a nature. I have, by the inclosed, directed the commanding Officer of the Massachusetts Militia to repair to Albany, and have desired him to leave word for the remainder to repair thither as they come in. Should any part of your Militia, that were intended for the expected cooperation be still above, I leave it with your Excellency to order them to Albany for the present, should you be of opinion that it will answer a good purpose.

I this morning recd. a Return from Colo. Swartwout

63. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

of the Arms and Accoutrements wanting by the Militia.<sup>66</sup> Our Stock of these Articles is so very scanty, that I am loth to deliver them out, in that way, but upon the greatest emergency. Should we commence operations against New York, we shall have occasion for a very considerable quantity of Wood, from above, I would therefore suggest to your Excellency the propriety of employing those Men who want Arms in cutting Wood between this and Verplanks point. I would wish you to give me your opinion upon this matter, because I would not impose a duty upon the Militia that should be disagreeable or disgusting to them. Should there be a necessity of arming them, I would wish it might be put off 'till we have a certainty of operating.

I have heard that the party which made an incursion into Jersey have returned. Their numbers were greatly exaggerated. They consisted of about one hundred Horse who penetrated as far as Sommerset Court House, what particular damage they did I do not exactly know, but they were met by a small party of Militia at Middle Brook who fired upon them, and took Lt. Colo. Simcoe their Commandant and three privates prisoners. They returned with precipitation by South Amboy, where a Body of Infantry were prepared to cover them in their embarkation I am, &c.

P.S. I have this moment recd. a letter from Mr. Laurens,<sup>67</sup> who favs. me with news from the Southward to the 2d inst. the following is the substance.



66. On October 29 Washington wrote to Col. Jacobus Swartwout: "I have written to Governor Clinton on the subject of deficiencies in the arms and accoutrements." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

67. Henry Laurens. His letter is not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

"Colo. Maitland with such of his Men as were able to march had made their escape from Beaufort and joined General Prevost at Savannah, leaving his Hospital, Artillery, Baggage and Stores.

The Enemy strongly fortified at Savannah. Their numbers about 3000 exclusive of Negroes &c.

Count D'Estaing had landed 5000 Men and formed a junction with Genl. Lincoln who had abt. 4000 under his command. The Allies were determined to make regular approaches. The Chief Engineer Colo. Laumoy announced that his Batteries of 38 heavy Cannon and 8 Mortars would open the 2d or 3d inst. two sorties had been made by the besieged, who were beat back and suffered greatly in killed and wounded.

The Sagittaire had taken the Experiment, Sir James Wallace on board of whom was General Vaughan and 20 other Officers and Cash to pay the troops in Georgia; it appears that 4000 Men had been intended for South Carolina.

The Ariel 26 Guns, Fowey 24, and a Sloop of 18, a large ship with 2200 Barrels of Flour and a quantity of Beef and pork, 4000 suits of Cloaths &c &c all the Enemies Store and Transport Ships had fallen into the French Admirals hands.

A part of the Cherokee Nation had been induced by Cameron<sup>68</sup> the superintendent to break faith with us. They had in consequence been severely chastised by Genl. Williamson<sup>69</sup> who had returned and would join Genl. Lincoln with 1000 Men the 29th or 30th Septemr.

68. Alan Cameron.

69. Brig. Genl, Andrew Williamson, of the Georgia Militia. He joined the British in 1780.

perfect Unanimity between the Allies. It was expected the whole of the Enemy would be in our hands in a Week.”

The above is from a private letter from Mr. Laurens and I would not wish to have it published in the papers.<sup>70</sup>

#### **To PRESIDENT JEREMIAH POWELL AND THE COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS**

Head Quarters, West point, November 3, 1779.

Gentn: I have been honored with your favs. of the 12th and 16th ulto. in answer to mine of the 4th.<sup>34</sup> and 7th. You have my warmest thanks for your ready attention to the several requisitions contained in them. I am particularly obliged by the loan of 100 Barrels of Gunpowder which I would not wish to be removed from Boston, until we are under a certainty of operating. I have heard nothing from the southward since the 2d ulto. to which time the prints will inform you of the operations of the allies. I flatter myself that, from the favorable prospects then, we shall soon receive intelligence of compleate success. I have the honor, etc.<sup>35</sup>

#### **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, West point, November 3, 1779.

Dear Sir: I have been informed of two most flagrant Acts

70. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

34. Washington's letter of October 4 was sent to Governors Clinton, Livingston, and others, in addition to Powell.

35. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

of marauding lately committed by persons from the Continent, upon Mr. Seaton formerly of New York, and Colo. Floyd,<sup>36</sup> of Long Island. These Gentlemen and their characters are undoubtedly known to your Excellency. The persons who committed the Robbery, are said to be Joseph Halce<sup>37</sup> and Fade Donaldson who are also said to belong to the State of New York. Whether the Boats to which they belong are commissioned to cruise upon the sound, I will not undertake to say, but I am told a proclamation of your Excellency's strictly prohibits any of these Cruisers from landing on the Island and directs all property taken to be legally condemned before sale. The Robbery of Mr Seaton I am informed extends to his furniture, plate, Cloathing, papers and in short every thing moveable. I am certain, if the persons above mentioned, belong to this State, your Excellency will direct proper measures to be taken to bring them to justice, and prevent such acts of Violence in future. I am, &c.<sup>38</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, West-point, November 4, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I have to acknowledge your Excellency's favor of the 30th of last month relative to the case of Lt. Sylvanus Meade.

I am induced to believe on considering the peculiarity of the circumstances attending Mr Meade's coming out of

36. Col. Benjamin Floyd.

37. Halsey(?), Hulse(?).

38. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

New-York, that he acted without design of violating any engagement which the indulgence he received from the enemy implied. And I shall direct the commissary of prisoners to account for him by a regular exchange, without his returning to the enemy.

I would beg leave to request your attention to a subject which I mentioned to your Excellency in a former letter, I mean the piracies on the wretched inhabitants of Long Island. A very late one, said to be committed by some subjects of the State of New-York, makes me renew my application, for your endeavours to stop a practice so contrary to good policy and the interests of our cause. I have written to Governor Clinton more particularly on this business. I am, &c.<sup>47</sup>

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters, West point, November 5, 1779.

Sir: I would take the liberty of addressing a few lines to Your Excellency, respecting such of the Officers and privates of Blands and Baylors Regiments of Dragoons and of Harrisons Artillery, as belong to the state of Virginia. Their situation is really disagreeable and discouraging; and it is perhaps the more so, from its being now almost if not intirely singular. It is said, that under the idea of their not having been originally a part of the Troops

47. In the writing of James McHenry. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

apportioned on the State in September 1776, the State provision of Cloathing and bounty for reinlisting their Men, is not to be extended to them, or at least that it is a doubtful point. This is the source of great uneasiness and indeed of distress among them; and it is the more felt, as most of the States, since the Resolution of Congress of the 15th of March last, of which I have the honor to transmit Your Excellency a Copy, have made no discrimination between Officers and Men belonging to them, in the same predicament, and those who were explicitly assessed on them, as their Quota, under the first mentioned Resolution; but on the contrary have permitted them to participate in every benefit and emolument granted Others of their Troops. The Regiments of

Artillery and Cavalry which in the whole amount to Eight, as well as many Companies of Artificers and Other Corps, have never been apportioned in a particular manner on the States, so as to shew the exact proportion of Officers and Men which each should furnish; but being absolutely essential to the public service, as they must be so long as the War continues, they have been raised in a promiscuous manner; and if the point was ascertained it is highly probable the proportion from each State, would be found not very unequal. I have mentioned this circumstance that the Officers and Men of the State in these three Regiments, may not be considered as a quota furnished, over and above which is done by the Rest of the States. And I would take the liberty farther to observe, that as several of the Regiments of Infantry apportioned on the State by the Resolution of Sept. 1776, have been reduced, a circumstance which has

not taken place with respect to the Regiments of most Other States, there appears to me the more reason for the benefits of Cloathing and bounty granted by the State, being extended equally to them with any Other of her Troops. They share with them in every danger, and in every burthen, both at home and abroad, and it seems but equitable that they should partake of every benefit. The terms of service for which the Men of these three Corps were engaged are expiring every day, and if it should be the pleasure of the State to give the Men in them belonging to it, the encouragements and benefits they have granted to their Infantry Regiments, the sooner the point is determined the better. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>52</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, West-point, November 12, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I have been honored with your Excellency's favor of the 5th.

The operations to the Southward have been of so much longer duration, than was at first apprehended, and no certain accounts being yet received, that have come to my knowledge, induces me to think, that the probability of an attempt against the enemy in this quarter, more especially considering the

52. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

advanced state of the season, is a matter of the greatest uncertainty. Under these circumstances, and desirous to avoid every possible expence, I would not wish, that the required number of militia, should at this time be drawn to their places of rendezvous. Their being held in readiness, will be in my opinion sufficient to answer the purpose of the expected co-operation. How far it may be advisable, on other accounts, I must leave to your Excellency's determination.

Besides what I have mentioned, there are other reasons, why the militia should not be assembled, without an absolute occasion. I allude in particular to the condition of our magazines of flour. The uncommon drought, (not to hint at circumstances which must be well known to your Excellency) has affected us exceedingly in this article. A considerable quantity of wheat now lies in the mills in this State unmanufactured for want of water, and the same cause produces the same effects in some of the neighbouring States.

I need not take notice to your Excellency of my intention to afford every protection to your State, which our strength, a proper dependence on our supplies, and the situation of things in general, will admit. Our arrangements for the winter shall be directed by these objects. But should the enemy keep themselves united, as at present, and make no considerable detachments, we may find it absolutely expedient to observe a similar conduct, that the common cause may not encounter the greater evil, while we attempt to avoid the lesser. I am, etc.<sup>95</sup>

[C.S.L.]

95. In the writing of James McHenry. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, West-point, November 16, 1779.

Dr. Sir: In my letter of the 12th. I mentioned to your Excellency that the operations to the Southward had taken up more time than was at first apprehended, and that this, with the advanced season of the year, made the expected co-operation a matter of the utmost uncertainty. I am sorry to inform you that by dispatches received last night, there has been an alteration of circumstances in that quarter, which must render it altogether impossible, at least for the present.

It would appear, that there was a necessity for the Counts returning to the West Indies, which made it impracticable to spend that time before the works of Savannah, requisite to carry them by regular approach. This induced the allied arms to hazard the reduction of the place by assault. It was undertaken accordingly on the 9th of October, when we were repulsed. I do not learn the particulars of our loss. The Count was slightly wounded in the leg and arm; and General Pulaski died a few days after of his wounds. The allied officers and men behaved with great bravery and spirit. This repulse comprehends the whole of our misfortune, as we met with no hindrance in removing our stores and baggage. I have drawn together these several matters more for your private satisfaction, than any public purpose; as Congress, I suppose will direct a publication. The requisition for the militia holding themselves in readiness, being no

longer necessary, your Excellency will take such order as you may think proper on the occasion.

I cannot but express my sense, to your Excellency of the ready compliance in every step which appeared necessary in the business that for some time past has engaged our attention. And I promise myself every thing to our cause from the good disposition of the militia when it may become proper to make use of their services. I have the honor, etc.<sup>11</sup>

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

West point, November 16, 1779.

Dear Sir: I am now to inform you that the idea of a cooperation with His Excellency Count D'Estaing in this quarter is intirely at an end, at least for this year. The advanced season of itself

would have rendered the measure too precarious and uncertain in the issue to be undertaken now; but besides this I find by advices received last night, that an unfavourable change in our affairs at the southward has made it impracticable. It seems the Seige of Savannah, where the Enemy had secured themselves by strong fortifications, required more time than was expected and there being no certainty of reducing the place by regular approaches,

11. In the writing of James McHenry. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

in the course of a few days; It was agreed to attempt to effect it by Storm. The attack was accordingly made on the morning of the 9th. Ultio. by the Allied Troops who suffered a Repulse. I have not the particulars, but the Resolution for an Assault was founded in the necessity it seems there was for the Count's returning immediately to the West Indies. The allied Troops behaved with great firmness and tho defeated acquired great honor. Count D'Estaing himself was wounded in the Arm and Leg. Genl Pulaski died some days after the Action, of a Wound he received. Our wounded and baggage were all brought off. Your Excellency will be pleased to consider this more for your private information than for any other purpose. Congress will probably publish the affair. From this detail of circumstances however, you will conclude with me, that the sooner the Militia return to their homes the better. I will leave it entirely to your Excellency's management and address, to conduct the business with them, requesting only that you will offer the Officers and Men my warmest thanks for their great activity and zeal in turning out, and that you Yourself will accept my sincerest acknowledgements for the aid and support you have been pleased to afford me on this and every other occasion. You will also be pleased to order their Regimental pay Rolls to be made out immediately and presented to the Depy Pay Mr General. The sooner it can be done, the better for reasons which will at once occur to You. Any Quarter Master Stores that may have been received, You will be so obliging as to order to be returned to Colo Hay. I shall be very happy to see Your Excellency, if you can make it convenient to favor me with a visit. I cannot,

on account of a variety of pressing business do myself the pleasure of waiting on You. I am, etc.<sup>12</sup>

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**



Head Quarters, West point, November 16, 1779.

Dear Sir: I am this day honored with your Excellency's favr. of the 9th: Under the present establishment, Colo. Simcoe is to be considered as a prisoner of the State if they incline to claim him as such, and they have a right, by their Commy. of prisoners, to propose any mode of exchange which they may think eligible. Your Excellency's letter informing me of this Gentleman's capture came to my hands very accidentally, it was dropped by the person to whom it was intrusted, and found upon the Road by a Country Man who delivered it to General Woodford.

Give me leave to congratulate Yr. Excellency upon your re election to the Government, and to assure you that I am with unfeigned Regard.<sup>16</sup>

12. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

16. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

### **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

West Point, November 20, 1779.

Sir: I have been honoured with Your Excellency's Letter of the 16th. I assure you Sir, I should esteem myself happy if it were in my power to comply with your request, with respect to the Troops ordered from Rhode Island; but it is really not. I have no alternative in the matter; or at least I could not con sent to their remaining with you, without departing from such an Arrangement, as a regard to the general interest and the situation of our Affairs seem to me, indispensably to require. A circumstance which your Excellency would neither wish nor permit. An attention to the general weal must be with me, as it will ever be with you, the first Object, and whenever this shall appear to me secure, I persuade myself with great satisfaction and confidence, that you believe, I shall most chearfully afford any aid in my power to give, to Individual States. Protection to all is my ever most wish; but unfortunately, our means will not admit of it, and I have frequently to regret, as in the present instance, that my abilities are not equal to my inclination. And I would willingly hope, that

whenever I do not comply with matters of your request, that you will indulgently impute it to the real cause, that of necessity. In the disposition of the Army, I must particularly attend to the security of this post, to the security of itself against insult, and against defeat. If the Enemy remain in New York in near their present force, Nothing more

can be promised from it, and possibly not this, if they are governed by a spirit of Enterprize. There is One circumstance more which I will add: You will but too readily feel the inference. Inlistments of a permanent nature were not the policy of the times, and accordingly Our Army was levied. You, with me, will painfully reflect on the period. Desirous however, to give such protection to the State, as Our circumstances may possibly justify, I mean to station the New Hampshire Troops at Danbury, and Moylans and Sheldon's Regiments East of that, which makes a part of my Arrangement. I cannot do more with the least propriety, as a greater division or extention of our force, might at least expose us to great accidents. Light parties will be detached from hence, during the Winter, towards the Enemy's lines, which will in some measure enable General Poor to turn his attention more to the Sound and to give aid in case of exigency. There are pressing calls for succour to be sent to South Carolina and Georgia, and for which I shall be happy, if we should not have occasion to fear much; but no more can be possibly afforded than the remains of Two Regiments of North Carolina, which were here, and this by direction of Congress, founded more in the absolute necessity of the measure than our abilities to spare them. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>56</sup>

56. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

## **To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, West point, November 22, 1779.

Dear Sir: The moment I was informed that the unexpected delays and difficulties which His Excellency the Count D'Estaing had met with to the Southward had rendered a co-operation in this quarter impracticable, I dismissed the Militia of the States of New York and Massachusetts, the only ones which were assembled at their places of rendezvous. Although the number of men

required from the State of New Jersey by mine of the 4th: ulto. have never been drawn together, yet possibly they may be held in such a situation as to be attended with some inconveniences. I hope this is not the case, but should it be so, I am to desire your Excellency to look upon yourself at liberty to discharge them finally, as all prospects of the expected co-operation are at an end.

I cannot dismiss the subject without returning my thanks to your Excellency and to the State for the Zeal manifested upon this as upon all former occasions. I have the honor, &c.<sup>86</sup>

86. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

The same letter, also in the writing of Tilghman, was sent to President Joseph Reed, with the following variation in its conclusion, viz: "I cannot dismiss this subject without returning my thanks to the State for the Zeal which they manifested upon the occasion and to your Excellency for the personal share which you had determined to take in the Enterprize."

The same letter was also sent to President Jeremiah Powell and the Massachusetts Council, with the following alteration after the word "impracticable": "I wrote to Brig. Genl. Fellows commanding the Militia of the State of Massachusetts, ordered out in consequence of my requisition of the 4th: ulto., to dismiss them, after making up the pay Rolls for the time which they had been in service. While I regret that circumstances would not admit of the prosecution of the plan for which this Body of Men were assembled, I cannot but express my thanks to the State for their cheerful concurrence with my several requisitions while the matter was in agitation."

Both of these drafts are in the *Washington Papers*.

## **To GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE**

Head Quarters, West-point, November 23, 1779.

Sir: I had the pleasure of your Excellency's favor of the 5th with its inclosure. It is with the utmost satisfaction, that

I join my congratulations to yours on the evacuation of Rhode Island.

In a letter of this date to Sir Henry Clinton,<sup>98</sup> I have represented the loss of the records mentioned in the resolution of the Council of war,<sup>99</sup> and requested his interference for their restoration. I can promise nothing from any influence of mine in this quarter, but what arises from the propriety of the request. On receiving his answer, I shall immediately transmit it to your Excellency. I have the honor, etc.<sup>1</sup>

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters, West-point, November 23, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I have been honored with your Excellencys favours of the 1st 2d and 8th of October, and the several inclosures.

The measure of the Council in remanding Govr. Hamilton and his companions back to confinement, on their refusing to sign the parole tendered them, is perfectly agreeable to the practice of the enemy. The particular part objected to I have always understood enters into the paroles given by our officers.<sup>2</sup>

In regard to your letter of the 8th, I would hope with your Excellency, that there will be no necessity for a competition in cruelty with the enemy. Indeed it is but justice to observe, that of late, or rather since Sir Henry Clinton has had the command, the

98. The date was November 20. (See Washington's letter to Sir Henry Clinton, Nov. 20, 1779, *ante.*)

99. Inadvertence: the council of Rhode Island is meant.

1. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

2. Jefferson wrote to Washington (November 23): “Lamothe and Dejean have given their paroles, and are at Hanover Court-house: Hamilton Hay and others are still obstinate therefore still in close confinement tho' their irons have never been on since your second letter on the subject. I wrote full information of this matter to Genl. Phillips from whom I had received letters on the subject. I cannot in reason believe, that the Enemy on receiving this information either from yourself or Genl. Phillips will venture to impose any new cruelties on our officers in captivity with them.... It is therefore my duty as well as it was my promise to the Virginia captives, to take measures for discovering any change which may be made in their situation. For this purpose I must apply for your Excellency's interposition.” Jefferson's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

treatment of our prisoners has been more within the line of humanity, and in general very different from that which they experienced under his predecessors. I shall not fail however as a matter of duty to pay proper attention to such deviations from this conduct, as may appear the result of mere wantonness or cruelty and that have not been incurred by the irregularities of our prisoners. I have the honor, &c.<sup>3</sup>

### **To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, December 4, 1779.

Sir: I have the honor to inform Your Excellency and the Council by the conveyance which now offers by Express, that Monday the 20th Instant is appointed for proceeding on the trial of Major Genl. Arnold. The Court Martial will sit at the Camp in the vicinity of Morris Town. I have written to Mr Matlack and inform'd him of these circumstances,<sup>71</sup> and I request the favour of Your Excellency to communicate notice of the same, to any Witnesses there may be besides. If there are any in the military line and I am informed of them, I will order their attendance or if there are any under this description at or in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, who might possibly go from thence before they could receive my orders, Congress I am persuaded will, upon information

3. In the writing of James McHenry.

71. On December 4 Washington wrote a brief note also to Timothy Matlack, secretary of the Pennsylvania Council, informing him of the above date and place of Arnold's trial. Also the same information was sent to Arnold. These letters are in the *Washington Papers*.

of the fact, direct them to attend. I have the honor, etc.<sup>72</sup>

[H.S.P.]

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

[M: Town, December 7, 1779.]

[Dr. Sir]: You have both obliged and amused me by your communication of the 27th.<sup>83</sup> I have not seen the piece to which you allude; but I should be more surprised had you been suffered to escape with out paying a tax so ancient and customary. When one is over rated in this way, it is very natural to complain, or to feel disgust at

72. In the writing of George Augustine Washington.

83. Not found in the *Washington Papers*.

the ingratitude of the world; tho' I believe with you, that to persevere in one's duty and be silent, is the best answer to calumny.

We are all in your debt for what you have done for us in Holland. I would flatter myself from the reception of your correspondence and the superior advantages which our commerce holds out to the Dutch, that we shall experience in a little time the most favorable effects from this quarter.

I know not how to think of the invention of Mr. Sayres. It appears a very extraordinary one. I can only wish that the thing may be practicable, and that we may have it in our power to be the first to give it patronage, and to profit by what it promises.

[Your favr. of the 1st. I had the honr. to rece. yesterday.] We have taken up our quarters at this place for the winter. The main army lies within three or four miles of the Town. If you are called to this part of the country I hope you will do me the honor of a visit. I am etc.<sup>84</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Morristown, December 8, 1779.

Dear Sir: I have been honored with your Excellency's favors

84. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

of the 23d. ulto. It gives me great pleasure to find your intention of laying the state of the troops of your line before your Assembly, at as early a period as possible. I have directed the Returns which you call for to be made out, and I hope they will be transmitted in time to meet the Assembly at the opening of the Session. I had, previous to the receipt of your Excellency's letter, furnished Congress with a very exact Return of the state of the Army, specifying the different terms of service, and earnestly requested them to call upon the different legislatures to make up the deficiencies which would soon follow by the expiration of the former enlistments.

With respect to the expediency of immediately filling the Vacancies which have happened in the Connecticut line, and which your Excellency has been pleased to refer to my consideration, I am clearly of opinion, that justice to the Officers in succession, and good policy require the Measure. Making promotions is very different from introducing new Officers. The approbation of the particular Gentlemen named by you, does not in anywise lay with me, I can only hope that they are entitled by the course of succession as established by the regulations of the Army, to the Vacancies

to which they are nominated. The recommendation is to be transmitted directly by the State, and not thro' me, to the Board of War, who will issue the Commissions in consequence.

You will be pleased to be particular in ascertaining the dates at which the Vacancies happened, and naming the Officers who occasioned them. I am &c.<sup>98</sup>

98. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The letter sent, also in the writing of Tilghman, is in the Connecticut State Library. It varies from the draft in minor verbal variations of capitalization and spelling.

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, December 11, 1779.

Sir: I inclose your Excellency a number of papers relative to a certain Richard Bird, and the money mentioned in Gen. Tylers letter. Colo Nevil<sup>14</sup> takes charge of the prisoner. I gave your Excellency this trouble as he appears to be the person some time ago advertised in a Virginia paper for the commission of some crime. I am &c.<sup>15</sup>

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters, Morristown, December 11, 1779.

Sir: I have the honor to inform Yr. Excellency that I have received advice from New York that a very large embarkation had taken place (said to amount to 8,000) and that the fleet containing them was at the Hook on the point of sailing; their destination *reported* to be for Chesapeak bay, on a combined operation in the 1st place against the French Squadron there, and afterwards to attempt the rescue of the Convention troops. Their naval force may consist of five sail of the line and two Frigates of 44 [besides a 50 Gun ship.] The separation of the French Squadron mentioned

14. Col. John Neville, of the Fourth Virginia Regiment He served to the close of the war.



15. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

by our last accounts from the Southward may have been a temptation to the enemy to undertake an enterprise against that part which had arrived. But it is not perhaps very probable that the convention troops enter into the plan; nevertheless I think it prudent to communicate the intelligence to your Excellency, that you may have the goodness to direct your attention towards their security and take any precautions which may appear to you necessary [without conveying an alarm]. For this purpose I request the favour of you to give immediate information to the Officer commanding at Charlotteville.

By the report of a deserter and the firing of signal guns a great part of yesterday, I am led to conclude the Fleet sailed at that time. I have the honor etc.<sup>16</sup>

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Morristown, December 12, 1779.

Dr. Sir: I have been favored with your Excellency's letter of the 7th. The [Troops left at the No. Rivr. and East of it and the] large detachments which we have been obliged to make to the Southward, and the times of service of so many of the troops nearly

16. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The words in brackets were added by Washington.

expiring, will unavoidably prevent me from affording that effectual cover to the frontier posts which I could wish. However you may be assured, that I shall take such measures for this purpose as our circumstances will admit, and give them as much protection as can be compassed by our present force. [It is to be lamented that the time for wch. the Regimt. of this state was raised is abt. to expire as it is indispensibly necessary] that the most effectual check should be given to the

contraband trade carried on with New York, and which I fear I shall not be able to effect by the detachments we may be able to spare from this army. I have the honor etc.<sup>17</sup>

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Morris Town, December 13, 1779.

Sir: I have the honor to inclose your Excellency sundry papers received from Major Ballard<sup>27</sup> respecting the effects of certain disaffected persons taken and sold on the frontier. You will perceive he is in danger of being prosecuted for felony. There appears not from the face of the papers to have been any thing blameable in Major Ballards conduct as he only acted in obedience to his orders on which must be charged whatever irregularity there may have been

17. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

27. Maj. William Hudson Ballard, of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment. He retired in January, 1781.

in the affair. As the good of the service sometimes requires things to be done in the military line, which cannot be supported by the civil law, prosecutions of this kind may discourage officers from the discharge of their duty. It were therefore to be wished they could be prevented; except where there are appearances of oppression or fraud. Nothing of this offers itself in Major Ballard's representation; though it is difficult to judge without hearing the other parties. I take the liberty however of troubling your Excellency with the affair that unless you have reason to believe there has been a spirit of plunder in the transaction, you may have the goodness to interpose your influence for preventing the intended prosecutions. To make this the more practicable I have directed the money which arose on the sales said to be deposited with Lt Col Whiting, to be paid to Your Excellency's order. But, if on inquiry, any of the officers seem to have beer, actuated by

improper views, I wish them to suffer the penalty of the law, and shall be ready to promote every measure for doing justice to those who have been injured. With every sentiment of respect etc.<sup>28</sup>

**To DEPUTY GOVERNOR JABEZ BOWEN**

Head Quarters, Morristown, December 15, 1779.

Sir: I have been honored with yours of the 25th ulto.

28. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

suggesting the expediency of letting the park of Artillery remain at providence untill circumstances should determine the probability of the Enemy's repossessing Rhode Island. This matter I think may be ascertained with a tolerable degree of certainty in a short time, as by a variety of accounts, a very considerable detachment from the Army at New York is held ready for embarkation, and it is thought are only waiting untill they hear that the French fleet have left the Coast. The destination of this detachment is not known, but generally conjectured to the West Indies or Georgia, or perhaps to both. Should that be the case, we may reasonably conclude, that their remaining force will not admit of sufficient Garrisons for New York and Rhode Island, and consequently that they will relinquish the Idea of again holding the latter.

I have wrote to Major Perkins<sup>57</sup> to collect the park and stores but to suspend their removal to Springfield untill further orders, which shall be given as circumstances may require. I have the honor, etc.<sup>58</sup>

**CIRCULAR TO GOVERNORS OF THE MIDDLE STATES<sup>67</sup>**

Head Quarters, Morris town, December 16, 1779.

Sir: The situation of the army with respect to supplies

57. Maj. William Perkins, of the Third Continental Artillery. He was in the service in May, 1780.

58. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

67. Gov. George Clinton, of New York; Gov. William Livingston, of New Jersey; President Joseph Reed, of Pennsylvania; President Caesar Rodney, of Delaware; and Gov. Thomas Sim Lee, of Maryland.

is beyond description alarming. It has been five or six weeks past on half allowance, and we have not more than three days bread at a third allowance on hand, nor any where within reach. When this is exhausted, we must depend on the precarious gleanings of the neighbouring country. Our magazines are absolutely empty everywhere, and our commissaries entirely destitute of money or credit to replenish them. We have never experienced a like extremity at any period of the war. We have often felt temporary want from accidental delays in forwarding supplies, but we always had something in our magazines and the means of procuring more. Neither one nor the other is at present the case. This representation is the result of a minute examination of our resources. Unless some extraordinary and immediate exertions are made by the States, from which we draw our supplies, there is every appearance that the army will infallibly disband in a fortnight. I think it my duty to lay this candid view of our situation before your Excellency, and to entreat the vigorous interposition of the State to rescue us from the danger of an event, which if it did not prove the total ruin of our affairs, would at least give them a shock from which they would not easily recover, and plunge us into a train of new and still more perplexing embarrassments than any we have hitherto felt. I have the honor, etc.<sup>68</sup>

[MD.H.S.]

68. The text is from the letter sent to Gov. Thomas Sire Lee and is in the writing of James McHenry.

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Morris Town, December 21, 1779.

Dear Sir: The situation of our Army at this time compared with that of the enemy makes it necessary we should be very much upon our guard. They have more than double our force collected at New York and we are mouldering away daily. They have been some time past making a show of embarkation; but whether it is sincere or a mere feint to lull us into security, is not easy to tell. But if they really design to make large detachments, they must be restrained by their uncertainty of the motions of the French Squadron; and if this or any other obstruction should continue, Sir Henry Clinton may think himself bound to improve the interval in an offensive operation against this army. He cannot justify remaining inactive with a force so superior and so many temptations to action. His enemies already clamour and charge him with want of enterprise. He is not ignorant of the smallness of our numbers and the distress of our magazines. He knows we have been obliged for want of forage, to send the horses of the army to a distance from it. He cannot be

insensible of the evils he would bring upon us by dislodging us from our winter quarters. The loss of our huts at this inclement season would be a most serious calamity. This loss would in all probability be accompanied by that of a great part of our baggage and a number of our men by desertions. It is difficult to determine the extent of the evils if at so critical a juncture we should experience a failure of provisions which we should have every reason to apprehend. Your Excellency's discernment makes it useless to enlarge.

But it is our duty to do all we can to avert the danger. Should the event I have mentioned take place we shall want the aid of the whole strength of the state. The inclosed official letter is an application for the purpose, which I have thought proper to accompany with their confidential view of our circumstances for your private information. I intreat your Excellency to give my application your support, that the measure recommended may be immediately put in a proper train. To me it appears of indispensable importance. I have the honor, etc.<sup>97</sup>

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Morris Town, December 21, 1779.

Sir: Notwithstanding the enemy have been for

97. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. (See the following letter.)

some time past making demonstration of sending detachments from New York, they still continue there with their whole collected force. On our part we have been lately obliged to march a considerable body of troops to the Southward and a part of those which remain are daily leaving us from the expiration of their terms of service. These and many other reasons that must occur to your Excellency, will point out the possibility that Sir Henry Clinton may be induced shortly to undertake an operation in this state, and show the propriety of our using every precaution to defeat his attempts. The best way indeed to prevent vent his undertaking any thing is to be well prepared to receive him. On this principle I am to intreat that a plan may be concerted without loss of time to call out the whole militia of the state in the speediest manner, should the event I have mentioned take place. It will also be requisite that they should come provided each man, with ten day's or a fortnight's provision to be paid for by the public at the current value. The state of our magazines makes this indispensable, without which the men would be an incumbrance rather than an assistance.

So soon as the necessary arrangements are made, I shall be glad to be informed of them, that I may know what correspondent measures are to be taken on my part. Conventional signals to convey the alarm throughout the state must be one essential part of the plan, and [places of rendezvous another.]

Your Excellency I am persuaded will see the necessity of the measure which I have now the honor to propose

and will give it all the support in your power. I have the honor, etc.<sup>98</sup>

## **To GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE**

Morris Town, December 25, 1779.

Sir: The enemy having asked permission for an unarmed vessel to proceed to New-port with clothing and necessities, for the prisoners at Rutland, I have granted a pass-port for the same, to proceed from the port of New-York to Taunton River and Seconnet and to return again to New-York. I thought it necessary to give your Excellency this notice: that the Quarter Master may have time to make preparation for their transport to Rutland. Two serjeants have also permission to pass from Taunton River to Rutland to superintend the delivery of the articles and to return again.

On the 19th I was honoured with Your Excellency's Letter of the 3d. It is certainly right and necessary that Troops should be paid with punctuality or as much so, as circumstances will admit. I do not however conceive myself authorised to make the appointment your Excellency requests and shall take occasion to submit the matter to Congress, who it is probable will make some arrangement in consequence, not only to comprehend the present but other cases. I have the Honor Etc.<sup>49</sup>

98. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

49. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

## **To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters, Morris town, December 25, 1779.

Sir: I had the honor of addressing your Excellency on the 11th inst. I then informed you it was reported that the fleet, which had been some time preparing at New York had sailed the day before. I have since found the account was premature; or, that if any Vessels went out at that time, they were but few. I have now certain information that a fleet of about one hundred sail, under convoy

of a 74, a 40 and a ship of 36 Guns left the Hook the day before yesterday; it is said they have no troops on Board, and it is imagined that they are Empty transports and private Vessels bound to Europe. The Fleet with the troops remained yesterday at the watering place and are not expected to sail till the fore part of next Week. As I have had no intelligence which contradicts that which I communicated to your Excellency in my last, I would recommend a continuation of the precautions which I then pointed out. I have the honor &c.<sup>51</sup>

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, December 26, 1779.

Sir: On the 13th Instant I had the honor to receive

51. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

your Excellency's Letter of the 28th Ult. with a Copy of the Resolution of the Assembly to which it refers. The proceeding is founded in a generous and just liberality with respect to the Officers and Soldiers who had not been provided for by the Act alluded to, and will I hope at least have a happy operation in alleviating their distress which were exceedingly great, if in nothing more.

I transmit your Excellency the best state I am able to give of the Virginia Troops. I have no return by me of Baylor's Horse, nor of the New Levies gone or going to the Southward with Genl Scott. A return however of the former agreeable to the Resolve of Congress of the 15 of March has been transmitted, as I have been informed, to the Honourable the Bd of War and also of Harrison's Regmt of Artillery. I have never received a return of the New-Levies; nor have I had one of Bland's Regiment since the middle of summer that I cannot give your Excellency the information I could wish with respect to them. The Returns of Gibson's Regiment and of Heath's<sup>58</sup> and OHara's Companies stationed at Fort Pitt are old and as they do not contain a state of the Mens Inlistments, they may convey a very imperfect idea of their strength at this time and it is probable they have undergone or may soon suffer great diminutions. Besides the Corps mentioned by your Excellency



I believe there are some Virginians in Moylan's Dragoons, and I have written to him to make a Return which I shall take the earliest occasion to transmit after it is received. At present the Regiment is quartered at a considerable distance from hence. Your Excellency will I am persuaded, have often reflected upon the inconveniences of short

58. Capt. Henry Heth (Heath).

and temporary Inlistments. The State of the Virginia Troops now forwarded will place the disadvantages and impolicy of the measure in a very striking light and shew how difficult at least it is for us to provide for any military arrangements and operations, either offensive or defensive, with a tolerable prospect of success. This unhappily has been pretty much the case through the whole of the Contest, and it would give me great pleasure as I am sure it would you, if I could tell you that this State of the Virginia line was not a pretty just picture and representation of the State of the rest of the Army.

Your Excellency it is probable will have heard before this reaches you, that the Virginia Troops are on their march for the Southward, in consequence of the pressing situation of affairs in that Quarter, and from the apprehension that they may become more so. The Troops had marched two or three days before the receipt of Your Letter, which circumstance left it only in my power to transmit an Extract of it, with the recruiting Commissions to General Woodford. This I did and requested him to nominate such Officers as he should deem best qualified to answer your Excellency's views of reinlisting the Men. The Sub Inspector would be the proper Officer to review and receive the Men who reinlist; but as Congress have determined that it will not be worth while for the Troops to proceed whose services will expire by the last of March and as the Sub Inspector will go on with the Others, I desired Genl Woodford to appoint one of the Officers who would be left with these, to act in his

stead. Indeed Any of the Old Troops that can be reengaged, will be liable to little if any objections as they are very generally a fine body of Men; the difficulty will be to bring them to reinlist and not

in passing them. It is probable the Men who do not proceed to the Southward will remain at Trenton or Philadelphia. How the attempts to reengage them will succeed I am not able to determine.

I beg leave to refer Your Excellency to the Letter I had the honor of writing You the 23d Ulto. on the subject of prisoners of War and their treatmt. I have not heard the least complaint since on this head, and I should hope there will be non. Your Letter to Genl Phillips was transmitted, and besides this the Enemy must have seen the public prints, in which the reasons for remanding Govr Hamilton &c were fully assigned. They can never make, I should think, his obstinacy and refusal to comply with a common and invariable condition of parole, either expressed or implied, a ground for imposing hardships upon any of our Officers. In this contest, I believe the condition required of Govt. Hamilton &c has been al ways expressed in paroles taken by the Enemy. I have the Honor, etc.

The returns inclosed are The Virginia Infantry (including the two State Regts.) serving with the main Army, specifying the terms of service of the Men.

Return of Harrison's Artillery, specifying do.

Return of 9th Regt. and two Independent Companies at Fort Pitt.<sup>59</sup>

59. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The memorandum at the end of the letter to Governor Jefferson is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

**To REVEREND HUGH HENRY BRACKENRIDGE**

West Point, September 8, 1779.

Sir: I have to thank you for your favor of the 10th of August, and your Eulogium.<sup>95</sup>

You add motives to patriotism, and have made the army your debtor in the handsome tribute which is paid to the memory of those who have fallen in fighting for their country. I am etc.<sup>96</sup>

95. The eulogium was “An Eulogium of the brave men who have fallen in the contest with Great Britain,” delivered July 5, 1779, in the German Calvinist Church in Philadelphia. A copy is in the Library of Congress.

96. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

### **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 8, 1780.

Dr. Sir: I have the honor to inclose your Excellency the copy of a letter I have just received from the late Commissary General, by which you will see upon how ill a footing our future prospects of supplies are; particularly with respect to meat. This corresponds with representations from every quarter, and with what we actually feel. The Army has been near three months on a short allowance of Bread; within a Fortnight past almost perishing. They have been sometimes without Bread, sometimes without Meat, at no time with much of either, and often without both. They have borne their distress in which the officers have shared a common Lot with the men, with as much fortitude as human nature is capable of; but they have been at last brought to such a dreadful extremity, that no authority or influence of the officers no virtue or patience in the men themselves could any longer restrain them from obeying the dictates of their sufferings. The Soldiery have in several instances plundered the neighbouring Inhabitants even of their necessary subsistence. Without an immediate remedy this evil would soon become intolerable and unhappily for us we have no prospect of relief through the ordinary channels. We are reduced to this alternative either to let the Army disband or to call upon the several Counties of this State to furnish a proportion of Cattle and Grain for the immediate supply of our wants. If the Magistrates refuse their aid we shall be obliged to

have recourse to a military impress.

But this Sir is an expedient as temporary in its relief as it is disagreeable in its execution, and injurious in its tendency. An Army is not to be supported by measures of this kind. Some thing of

a more permanent and effectual nature must be done. The Legislative authority of the respective States must interpose its aid. The Public treasury is exhausted; we have no magazines any where that I know of; the Public officers have neither money nor credit to procure supplies. I assure Your Excellency, as far as my knowledge extends, this is a faithful representation of our affairs. Our situation is more than serious, it is alarming. I doubt not Your Excellency will view it in the same light and that the Legislature of the State of Connecticut will give a fresh proof of their wisdom and zeal for the common cause by their exertions upon the present occasion; and I hope I shall be thought to be justified by circumstances when I add, that unless each State enters into the business of supplying the Army as a matter seriously interesting to our political salvation we may shortly be plunged into misfortunes from which it may be impossible to recover.

I have made a similar representation to all the States on which we depend for supplies. Maryland has passed an Act which promises us much assistance in the article of Flour and Forage, though it must be some time before we can feel the benefit of it. She has appointed Commissioners in each County with full power to purchase or impress all the Grain in the State more than is sufficient for the use of the Inhabitants; and has interested them

in a vigorous execution of the commission. I flatter myself the other States will make equal exertions; and then we shall escape the calamities with which we are now threatened. I have the honor &c.<sup>28</sup>

## **To THE MAGISTRATES OF NEW JERSEY**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 8, 1780.

Gentlemen: The present situation of the Army with respect to provisions is the most distressing of any we have experienced since the beginning of the War. For a Fortnight past the Troops both Officers and Men, have been almost perishing for want. They have been alternately without Bread or Meat, the whole time, with a very scanty allowance of either and frequently destitute of both. They have borne their sufferings with a patience that merits the approbation and ought to excite the

sympathy of their Countrymen. But they are now reduced to an extremity no longer to be supported. Their distress has in some instances prompted the Men to commit depredation on the property of the Inhabitants which at any other period would be punished with exemplary severity, but which can now be only lamented as the effect of an unfortunate necessity. This evil would increase and soon become intolerable were not an instant remedy to be applied.

The distress we feel is chiefly owing to the early

28. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

commencement and uncommon vigor of the Winter, which have greatly obstructed the transportation of our supplies. These causes have obliged us to exhaust all the Magazines in the vicinity of Camp, and as they continue to operate we shall be unable to derive seasonable succour from our more distant resources. From present appearances it must be more than five Weeks before we can have the benefit of any material supplies beyond the limits of this State; so that unless an extraordinary exertion be made within the State to supply the wants of the Army during that space, fatal consequences must unavoidably ensue. Your own discernment makes it needless to particularise.

Influenced by these considerations, my duty to the Public and my affection to the virtuous Inhabitants of this State (who next to the Army would be the most immediate sufferers) have determined me to call upon the respective Counties for a proportion of Grain and Cattle to satisfy the present exigency. The quota of the County to which you belong is Bushels of Grain and Head of Cattle, which it is indispensable should be collected and delivered to who will have the honor of presenting you with this, in days after the application. If more can be spared, the County will do an essential service by furnishing it.<sup>25</sup>

I have adopted this mode of requisition, from a regard to the case and accommodation of the Inhabitants. As you are well acquainted with the circumstances of individuals, you will be able

25. On the verso of the last page of the draft Tench Tilghman has indorsed the following table of quantities, from which the blanks in this paragraph were filled in each case:

Cattle Bushs Grain time allowed to Collect. Colo. Ogden to Essex 200 600 4 days Colo. Butler Hunterdon 150 1500 6. Colo. Barber Gloucester 150 750 8. Colo. Carrington Sussex 150 1500 8. Major Lee Salem 200 750 5. do Cumberland 100 750 5. do Cape May 50 3. Colo. North Monmouth 250 1500 8. Major Piatt Sommerset 100 900 4 Colo. Sherman Middlesex 200 600 5 Colo. Shreve Burlington 250 1500 8 Colo. De Hart Bergen 200 1200 4 The Magistrates Morris 200 600 2,200 12,150

to apportion the quantity required to the ability of each, and as I have no doubt you will be convinced of the absolute necessity of the measure, I am persuaded your zeal for the common cause will induce you to exert your utmost influence to procure a cheerful and immediate compliance. In doing this, though you may not be authorised by the strict letter of the Law, by consulting its spirit (which aims at the relief of the Army) in an emergency of so pressing and peculiar a nature, you will merit the acknowledgements of your fellow Citizens.

In order that the Inhabitants may receive compensation for what they furnish <sup>26</sup> will concert with you a proper place for the delivery. The owners will bring them to this place at the time appointed, and a Commissary will attend to receive them, and give certificates specifying the quantity of each article and the terms of payment. These terms will be (at the option of the owner, which he shall declare at the time) either to be paid the present market price, which if preferred is to be specified, or the Market price, at the time of payment. The weight of the Cattle to be estimated by the Magistrates, or any two of them, in conjunction with the Commissary.

While I have intire confidence that you will do every thing in your power to give efficacy to this requisition, I have too high an opinion of the patriotism of the People of this State and of their attachment to an Army making every sacrifice in defence of their Country, to entertain the least apprehension of their not seconding your endeavours. But at the same time I think it my duty

26. To be filled in with the name of the officer assigned to the county.

to inform you, that should we be disappointed in our hopes, the extremity of the case will compel us to have recourse to a different mode, which will be disagreeable to me on every account, on

none more than on the probability of its having an operation less equal and less convenient to the Inhabitants, than the one now recommended. I intreat you to be assured Gentlemen, that I have given you a just representation of our distresses, of the causes, and of the time which must in all livelyhood elapse before we can obtain relief through the ordinary channels. From this you will be sensible that delay or indcision is incompatible with our circumstances. With the greatest respect I have the honor, etc.<sup>27</sup>

27. The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

### **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Morristown, January 14, 1780.

Dr. Sir: I was yesterday honored with your Excellency's favor of the 27th ultimo. It gives me pleasure to hear that the legislature of your State have fallen upon so effectual measures to put a stop to all illicit intercourse between its inhabitants and the enemy in New-York and upon Long Island. The practice I am convinced has been extremely beneficial to our enemy and detrimental to us. I have ever exerted the military authority to the utmost to restrain it, and I flatter myself that I have lately in conjunction and with the approbation of the civil power of this State checked the practice in this quarter, which had grown under the cover of flag boats, and through their abuse to a most alarming height. I left orders of a similar nature with General Heath, which I am persuaded he will execute punctually, so far as cases may fall within the limits of his command. I have given directions to Genl. Poor to assist the Civil authority when called upon for the more effectual execution of the law to which you refer. Col. Moylan who commands the cavalry now stationed at Colechester, is also desired to do the same. I must however observe to your Excellency that as the horse after a fatiguing campaign, require as much repose as possible in their winter quarters, I shall be obliged to you for dispensing with their services as far as circumstances will admit, only calling upon them in cases of emergency.

The cavalry had, previous to your Excellency's representation, been ordered to remove to Colchester, upon hearing that there would be much difficulty and expence in procuring forage in their former quarters.

The impossibility of obtaining intelligence from the enemy by any other means than giving persons some plausible pretext for entering their lines has laid us under the necessity of allowing particular people to carry in small matters of produce and to bring out goods in return. That they abuse this indulgence is too true, but when we consider the risque they run, and that the persons who are willing to undertake business of this kind, are generally such as are influenced by interested motives, we must not wonder at their preferring their own emoluments to the public good. I am &c.<sup>68</sup>

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters, Morristown, January 22, 1780.

Sir: I have before me your Excellency's favor of the 16th of Decr. last.

The inclosures for New York have been duly transmitted. With respect to the prevention of flags to Chesepeak under the present appearance of things in that quarter, I shall should any fresh application come from the enemy give it proper

68. In the writing of James McHenry. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

On January 14 Robert Hanson Harrison also wrote to Brig. Gen. John Stark that Colonel Jackson had “represented” to his Excellency that Stark had discharged a soldier, contrary to his instructions “in his Letter of the 6th Instant.... And it is the General's request that you will defer your journey till you satisfy him on the point.” Harrison's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

consideration.



The case of Col. Bland wch your Exy. was pleased to communicate is very peculiar. On your representation of the matter, I took the liberty to introduce it before Congress, and I would flatter myself that their determination on the subject will be satisfactory.

I have the honor, etc.

P.S. Your Excelys. letter did not come to hand 'till the 16th inst.<sup>9</sup>

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE**

Head Quarters, Morristown, January 24, 1780.

Sir: I have been honored with your Excellency's letter of Deer. 26th. and its inclosure.<sup>23</sup> The immediate attention of government to the distress of the army, and the effectual assistance promised from the operation of the act, cannot but claim the acknowledgements of every good citizen. I flatter myself from your exertions, and those of the other States from which we derive our supplies, that we shall not again experience a like evil. I have the honor &c.<sup>24</sup>

[M.D.H.S.]

9. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

23. Governor Lee's letter is in the Washington Papers, but the act of the Maryland Legislature is not found.

24. In the writing of James McHenry.

**To SIR JAMES JAY**

Head Quarters, Morristown, January 25, 1780.

Dr. Sir: Yesterday I received your favor of the 21st. In a letter which I have occasion to write to Major Genl. Heath, I shall direct him to give you an opportunity to make your experiments. I hope they may prove favorable to your wishes. Major Bowman has also permission to go into some trials in gunnery, for the purpose mentioned in your letter.<sup>30</sup> I have the honor, etc.<sup>31</sup>

**To THE JUSTICES OF MORRIS COUNTY, NEW JERSEY<sup>51</sup>**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 27, 1780.

Gentln: I had this morning the honor to receive Your Letter of the 25th Inst.<sup>52</sup> You will permit me to assure You Gentlemen, that I entertain the highest sense of the exertions which have been made by the Justices and the Inhabitants of this County to relieve the distresses of the Army in the article of provision; and I think it but right to add, that from these exertions and those of the Justices and Inhabitants of the State of Jersey in general, the Troops and in them the public, have derived the most important and happy benefits.

30. The purpose of Jay's experiments are not disclosed in his letter of January 21, in the *Washington Papers*, but Major Bauman's experiments were for ranges which could then be accurately ascertained by reason of the Hudson River being hard frozen.

31. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

51. Benjamin Hallsey, John Brookfield, Jonathan Stiles, and Benjamin Lindsly.

52. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

There is nothing Gentlemen I wish so much, as security to the Subjects of these States in their persons and property; and any events that interrupt this affect me sensibly. Those you represent I feel in a peculiar manner, and I entreat you to be satisfied, that no means in my power shall be wanting to put a stop to every species of such practices in future. If any in the mean time should

unfortunately take place, the Offenders if they can be pointed out by the Inhabitants, shall be subjected to the most condign punishment.

With respect to the prison and County House, I shall request the Quarter Master General to examine the damage which the Troops have done to it, and to have it repaired as far as circumstances will permit. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>53</sup>

### **To THE MAGISTRATES OF NEW JERSEY**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 2, 1780.

Gentlemen: The patriotic exertions the Magistrates and inhabitants of this state in compliance with my late application to them on the subject of provisions have a claim to my warmest acknowledgements and to the particular consideration of the public. The crisis which dictated that application was of a very delicate nature, and the worst consequences might have ensued had it not been for the assistance so

53. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

cheerfully afforded. You have given a striking proof of your attachment to the service, of your regard to the accommodation of the army, and an earnest of what may be expected in every future exigence. It is however to be hoped a similar occasion may not again occur.

In my representations to Congress I thought it my duty to do justice to your exertions and I entreat you to be assured that I shall always endeavour to encourage in the army such a sense of the good disposition of the Magistrates and Inhabitants of New Jersey as will produce correspondent sentiments and conduct on their part. I have the honor, etc.<sup>6</sup>

### **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 5, 1780.

Dr. Sir: I think it my duty to transmit Your Excellency the inclosed Representation and Request from Sundry Officers in your line, which I received Two days ago.<sup>30</sup> The Objects are of a delicate and interesting nature and such I am persuaded as will have, if they have not already had it, the attention they deserve. From the conversation and expostulations I had with the Gentlemen who presented the paper and the information I have otherwise derived, I fear there is reason to apprehend that the line will receive a severe shock by

6. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

30. A copy of this representation, dated February 1, which was signed by the captains and junior officers of the New York line, is in the *Washington Papers*.

Resignations if something is not done to relieve the Officers.

They profess the greatest disinclination to injure the service and proposed continuing as Volunteers with the Regiments till other Officers could be appointed; but I told them this was not admissible and they seem for the present to have suspended the execution of their plan and which they had the more unadvisedly fixed to a day. I should be happy if the State have it in their power to make them more comfortable and contented with their situation. I have the honor etc.<sup>31</sup>

## **To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 16, 1780.

Sir: I have the pleasure to transmit Your Excellency a Letter from Major Genl de Riedesel which only came to hand Two days ago.

I would now inform Your Excellency, that agreeable to my letter of the 18th of December I have obtained a Return of Moylan's Regiment of Light Dragoons, and find, as I apprehended, that there are Sixty three Non Commissioned Officers and privates in it, who belong to Virginia. Of this

number Two only are inlisted for the War, and the service of the Rest will expire in December next.  
Having given Your Excellency

31. The draft, signed by Washington, is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The original is stated by Dr. J. M. Toner to be in the New York State Library.

an account of these Men, I have only to observe, that with the returns transmitted in my Letter of the 18th of December, You now have the fullest and most accurate state of the Virginia Troops that I can furnish and of those to be applied to the credit of Your Quota. By these and the information Your Excellency may have received with respect to the Levies under General Scott, and Blands and Baylor's Regiments You may perhaps be able to form a pretty just estimate of the force of the State employed in the Army, and to govern Yourself with tolerable certainty as to the deficiency of the State's Quota which Congress, as Your Excellency will no doubt be informed by the president, have required to be levied for the ensuing Campaign by an Act on the 9th Instant. I have the Honor etc.<sup>31</sup>

#### **To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Morristown, February 19, 1780.

Sir: I have just received a letter from Mr. Symmes<sup>53</sup> one of the Supreme Judges of this state, transmitting me a copy of a letter of the 14th instant to the Honorable the House of Assembly, on the subject of complaints made to him by soldiers in the Continental army of their being detained in service beyond the period for which they were engaged, and recommending the speedy direction and

31. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

On February 16 Richard Kidder Meade wrote to Col. Walter Stewart that Washington “does not object to some Officers going in pursuit of deserters, tho it must be done on a more general scale than that which you request...he wishes to see you....” Meade's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

53. John Cleves Symmes (1742–1814), chief justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court. His letter of February 15 is in the *Washington Papers*.

inquiry of the Legislature into the matter.

I doubt not Mr. Symmes took this step from commendable motives, but I think it my duty to apprise your Excellency, that a compliance with his recommendation could not fail to be attended with the most pernicious consequences. The true source of the discontents he speaks of, is a dissimilarity in the terms of enlistment for the Army. Those soldiers who are truly engaged for the war, are dissatisfied at seeing others, many of whom have received equal some greater emoluments, returning home, and having it in their power to obtain new bounties and new encouragements for their services, while they held to their original engagements, are deprived of these privileges. They therefore frequently deny their being enlisted for the war and make a variety of pretences to extricate themselves. Frequent applications have been made to me and inquiries have taken place in consequence; but in almost every instance it has been found, that either the complaints have been intirely groundless, or too weakly supported to justify the discharge of the men. The cases most in their favour, which sometimes occur are these: The original enlistments have been lost; officers resigning or dismissed the service, have given certificates of their being engaged for limited periods; but where these certificates are found to clash with the constant returns and muster rolls of the regiment, which are certainly much more authentic criterions, they are disregarded. The circumstance mentioned by Mr. Symmes, of officers on their resignation or discharge turning over their men on oath to the succeeding officers is founded on

misinformation for no such custom prevails in the army. The evil proceeds in a great measure from the reverse of this cause, the one I have mentioned above. It is probable enough, from the difficulty in ascertaining the fact in particular cases, that some men may be injured. But I verily believe the instances are rare, and that in general all possible justice is done to the men in this respect. I am at least conscious that I have uniformly cultivated this spirit in the officers and discountenanced the contrary.

I shall give your Excellency an example which will serve to confirm the representation I have made. The Pennsylvania soldiers from the commencement were almost universally engaged for the war. When they saw the Eastern levies in the beginning of last campaign who had received enormous bounties (many a thousand pounds and upward,<sup>54</sup> for a few months) they began to compare situations to murmur and to dispute their engagements. To remove these discontents Congress, at my instance, were pleased to order a gratuity of too dollars to all men inlisted for the war previous to the 23d. of Jany. 1779. The intention of this gratuity was clearly explained, the men received it and gave receipts expressive of that intention. They begin now to revive their former dissatisfaction and many desertions have taken place in consequence, so unreasonable are they, or rather so fatal is the influence of that system of short inlistments, which in the first period of the war, laid the foundation of all our subsequent misfortunes.

From this view of the subject I flatter myself

54. A thousand pounds in the depreciated paper currency.

you will readily perceive the inexpediency of the state interposing in the affair. Such countenance to the disposition now prevailing, would soon make it epidemical. New pretenders would immediately start up in every line, new expectations, hopes and reasonings would be excited; the discontent would become general and our military system would be nearly unhinged. Instead of gratifying the ill humour of the men by a mark of extraordinary attention, decisive measures to suppress it will in my opinion be most consistent with justice to the public and sound policy.<sup>55</sup> I confine my remarks to the inexpediency of an interference by the legislature of this state. Your Excellency's discernment will suggest other considerations which are of so delicate a nature that I shall decline particularising them. I shall only add that I have the fullest confidence the legislature will act with perfect wisdom and propriety upon the occasion and that I have the honor, etc.<sup>56</sup>

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 19, 1780.

Sir: About the latter end of December last I had the honor to receive a letter from His Excellency Governor Johnson dated the 27th. of October, in which he proposes an arrangement for the

55. At this point the draft has crossed out: “and I shall govern myself accordingly. I hope the difficulty of correcting the evil may not be increased by the ill-judged tenderness of individuals out of the army not sufficiently acquainted with the circumstances.”

56. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

three companies of Artillery belonging to the state of Maryland, and asks my opinion upon it. As General Knox who is at the head of the Artillery, is consequently best acquainted with its interior circumstances and can best judge of the operation of any changes which might take place, I communicated the letter to him to know his sentiments. His answer you will find in the inclosed extract. I beg leave to add that my ideas correspond with his; and that the mode he recommends appears to me well calculated to do justice to the state, to the officers of the three companies and to promote the general good of the service. It is essential to have the corps that compose the army upon one formation, and regulated by general principles. The contrary is productive of innumerable inconveniences. This makes me wish the idea of erecting the four companies into a separate corps under the command of a Major, may be relinquished. If this is agreeable to the views of the state I shall be happy its intentions may be signified as speedily as possible to Congress, that the incorporation and arrangement may be carried into execution. I have the honor, etc.<sup>57</sup>

## **CIRCULAR TO THE STATES<sup>62</sup>**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 20, 1780.

Gentlemen: You will have received I make no doubt, a Copy



57. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

62. The Tilghman draft is indorsed by Robert Hanson Harrison: "To Govrs. Greene, Trumbull, Clinton, Livingston, [President] Reed, Rodney, and [Governor] Lee. 24th President Massachusetts, President New Hampshire. Virginia written to before. Vide Letter to Govr. Reed, Livingston, Lee, Massachusetts, 10 March." The Virginia letter was dated Feb. 16, 1780, *q. v.*, and addressed to Governor Jefferson. That to New Hampshire, dated February 24, was forwarded in a brief note of the same date to the President of the Massachusetts Council (Jeremiah Powell), because of the uncertainty of "the post's going to Exeter, or as to the place where the Honorable the president of the Council of New Hampshire resides." These drafts are in the *Washington Papers*.

of an Act of Congress of the 9th Instant, ascertaining the Quotas of Non Commissioned Officers and privates to be furnished by the Respective States for the ensuing Campaign, and directing the Men in the Additional Corps, the Guards, Artillery and Horse and the Regimented Artificers in the departments of the Quarter Master General and Commissary General of Military Stores, as well as those of the Battallions in the State lines, whose times of service do not expire before the last of September next, to be counted as part of the Quotas of the States to which they respectively belong. The Quota of the State of Massachusetts is fixed at 6070, and I have now the honor to inclose You a Special Return of the Non Commissioned Officers and privates in her Fifteen Battallions and of the Men belonging to her in , designating in a particular manner the proportion engaged for the War, and by Monthly Columns the periods when and in what proportion the services of the rest will expire. This Return so far as it concerns the Fifteen Battallions of the State, is rather old, being copied from One made the of December last, and possibly may not be entirely accurate, on account of some changes that may have happened since that period; but I think it probable that it is substantially so. I have however called upon General Heath or the Commanding Officer of the Highland posts to send me a New One, and also, to prevent delay, to forward Your Honorable Board a Duplicate, after the receipt of which I shall take the earliest occasion to transmit You a Copy besides, in case I find that it materially varies in the instance of Men inlisted for the War from the present One.

There are Two or Three small detached Corps in the Army, of which I have not obtained Special Returns, and in which possibly there may be a few Men belonging to the State; if this should be the case when they are procured, I shall do myself the Honor of communicating it and their number. Your Honourable Board will observe that by the Act, as I have already taken the liberty to mention, the Men whose engagements expire before the last of September, are not to be counted as part of the 6070 and therefore according to the Return inclosed, the deficiency to be raised is . At the time the Return was made of the 15 Battallions, it bore the fullest number of Men under every description that they could contain, as it now does of All the Men belonging to the State in the Corps which it comprehends besides, and they would most probably be found, if an actual inspection could take place, to fall a good deal short of the compliment, as there is always a material difference between an Army on paper and its real Strength. A comparative view of the Total amount of an Army borne upon every General Return and of the Column of present fit for duty and the Absentees that can be satisfactorily accounted for, demonstrates this beyond question. I have the honor, etc.<sup>63</sup>

63. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison and is addressed to the Massachusetts Council. Tilghman's draft (see preceding note) is also in the *Washington Papers*. The following draft by Harrison was appended as a postscript to the letters sent to President Joseph Reed, of Pennsylvania, and Governor Thomas Sim Lee: "According to an Abstract Return obtained from the Muster Master General in October, the Total of the German Battallion, would be 208, out of which number the Inlistments of 66 expire before Sepr. There will be then, supposing all the Men alive, 142 engaged for the War; but I cannot determine what proportion of these belong to Maryland or Pennsylvania. \*There were 53 Men of the late Rawlins's Corps at Pittsburg in December; but the terms of their Inlistments are not known, nor can I say whether they are now in service.\* I have this minute received a State of the Pennsylvania part of the German Battallion, by which it appears that 116 of the 142 Men inlisted for the War belong to her. Hence it seems Maryland is only entitled to a credit of 26 in this Corps.

"N. B. The above postscript was subjoined to Governor Reed's Letter except what is included between the Asteiskes, instead of which was the following 'By a Common Regimental Return in December, the 8th Pennsylvania (Brodheads) stationed at Fort Pitt amounted in the Whole to 189 N Comd Officers and privates and Morehead's Independent Corps to 18; but how their inlistments stand I cannot precisely tell. I have informed that they are generally for limited and Short periods.'" Following this draft of the postscript are six pages of quota calculations of the various States, in the writing of Harrison and Tilghman, the figures of which were used to fill in the blanks in the circular to each State. In the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress these quota calculations are digested into exact form and clearly recorded, showing each State's deficiency.

**To JOHN CLEVES SYMMES**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 22, 1780.

Sir: I have been honored with your letter of the 15th. instant inclosing one of the 14th to the Legislature of this State. I thought it my duty in consequence to write a letter to His Excellency The Governor, of which the inclosed is a copy.

In addition to what I have there said, I cannot forbear observing that it is of great importance the different powers in the State should carefully avoid the least interference with each other; and in the present case I am clearly of opinion the matter in question falls properly within no other jurisdiction than that of Congress and the military authorities they have been pleased to establish. Every discussion of this kind however is extremely disagreeable and it were to be wished the strictest delicacy could at all times be observed not to furnish occasions.

I take this opportunity of remarking on a practice that has lately prevailed, of a very injurious tendency. Several soldiers have applied to me for their discharges, producing affidavits by themselves before some of the justices of this County of their terms of service having expired. If this kind of testimony by the interested party himself, inadmissible on every principle, were to have

effect the dissolution of the army would soon follow. Unhappily few of the common soldiery who wish to be disengaged from the service would scruple

right or wrong to avail themselves of such an expedient. This practice therefore cannot operate the release of the soldier and only affords a new pretext for discontent. If you view the matter in the same light, I doubt not you will use your influence to put a stop to it. I have the honor, etc.<sup>72</sup>

### **To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 23, 1780.

Sir: I had last night the honor to receive Your Excellency's letter of the 16th. with the papers you have been pleased to refer to me. There is certainly a good deal of weight in the observations and objections which Colo. Hazen has made, and it were very much to be wished, that the supplies of Cloathing and necessaries in every instance were perfectly equal to the officers and men respectively, throughout the army; but as these from the nature of our present establishment proceed from different sources, I do not know how the inconveniences complained of are to be remedied. It has been the pleasure of Congress by repeated Acts, and by a very recent one, to recommend it to the States to provide for the Officers and men belonging to them in the additional and other Corps, not originally apportioned on them in the same manner they provide for those

72. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

of their State Lines. This being the case, and as they have no other mode of relief, or at least that I know of, I do not see that it can be objected to in the instance of Major Reed<sup>80</sup> and the other Officers who have addressed your Excellency. It can only be considered that they are more fortunate than the rest belonging to their Regiment. Nor is this discrimination peculiar to Colo Hazens Corps. There are many others in the same disagreeable predicament. It holds extensively between the Troops of different Lines; for while the Officers and men of some enjoy most

necessary comforts, those of others are destitute of any. I return Your Excellency the papers again, and have the honor, etc.<sup>81</sup>

80. Maj. James Randolph Reid.

81. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 26, 1780.

Sir: Since I had the Honor of addressing Your Excellency on the 20th Instant, It has been found, that there was an Error in the Return then transmitted, with respect to the number of Men belonging to the State in the Artillery. Instead of 4 there are 77 in Lamb's Battallion, 76 of which are for the War, and 7 in Captain Walker's Company for the same time. I have the Honor etc.<sup>98</sup>

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 26, 1780.

Dear Sir: I was last night honored with your Excellency's letter of the 22d. I had on the 20th. transmitted you as accurate a Return as could then be obtained of the number of Men serving in the three Battalions of the state and in the additional Corps. I have since reced. a Return of Major Lees Corps dated the 20th. Decemr. last, in which I find fifty non Comm'd. and privates belonging to the State; that number is therefore to be deducted from the deficiency

98. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

struck in my letter of the 20th. I have the honor etc.<sup>99</sup>

**To WILLIAM FITZHUGH<sup>1</sup>**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 26, 1780.

Dear Sir: I have recd. your favr. of the 9th. inclosing letters to your son, Colo. Ramsey, and Mr. Williams of New York. I am in hourly expectation of seeing Colo. Ramsey, who I am told is coming out with propositions of Exchange, which I sincerely hope will be such as may be accepted with honor and advantage to the States and to the individuals concerned.

I had flattered myself that the spirited formation of your law, for the supply of the Army with provisions, would have been attended with the most salutary effects; but there really seems to be an almost general combination against every measure calculated to releive the public from the enormous load of debt and distress in which she is involved.

Mrs. Washington makes a return of her Compliments to Mrs. Fitzhugh, and I beg leave to assure you that I am, etc.<sup>2</sup>

[N.Y.H.S.]

99. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

1. Of Maryland.

2. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters, March 5, 1780.

Sir: I had the honor to receive by last nights Post Your Excellency's favor of the 10th Ulto. I am not certain I ever heard that Colo. Clarke had meditated an expedition against Detroit but I have thought it probable enough that he might turn his views that way. The reduction of this Post would be a matter very interesting from its situation and consequent importance to the tranquility of the Western Country. I have long wished to effect it, but hitherto unhappily our force and means at the

Westward have not appeared sufficient to authorise an attempt. These are now from the expiration of the inlistments of many of the Men stationed at Fort Pitt, more incompetent than they were, and I have no prospect of directing an Enterprise to be undertaken. Your Excellency will hence be able to determine on the measures best for Colo. Clarke to pursue. I have thought the Icy season when the Enemys Ships and other armed Vessels are confined in the Harbour would be the most eligible time to attempt the Post if the preparations and Provisions necessary for such an operation could be then made as the Garrison would not only be precluded from a retreat but if it were happily to be reduced, it would also involve the loss of the Vessels an event of great moment. I have the honor etc.

P.S. If the expedition against Detroit is undertaken and I am advised of the time, it may possibly be in my power to favor it in some degree, by directing a movement of part of the Troops at Fort Pitt, by way of diversion.

I beg leave to inform Your Excellency, that besides the Men in the Regiments and Corps of which you have had Returns, There are 52 Non-Commission'd Officers and privates belonging to the State in the partisan Corps commanded by Major Lee.<sup>37</sup>

### **To JOHN CLEVES SYMMES**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 7, 1780.

Sir: I have been honoured with your Favor of the 6th. Instant. The part the Grand Jury of this County are desirous of taking, in the matter that makes the subject of Your Letter, does great credit to their justice and their zeal. At the same time, it appears to me, that it may be best not to issue the Order they request,<sup>51</sup> as it might produce many trivial complaints by the Soldiery, and have a tendency to excite in them, however guarded and descriptive the Order might be of the persons the Objects of the Jury's request, a less respectful regard for the Inhabitants and their property, than I wish them to possess. In this view I have declined issuing It. If however there are any particular persons, who the Jury have good grounds to believe were guilty of immoderate exactions from

37. The draft is in the writing of George Augustine Washington; the P. S. is in that of Robert Hanson Harrison.

51. The grand jury of Morris County had been informed that some of the inhabitants had practiced extortion on the soldiers in the matter of prices charged for provisions. It requested Washington “to direct (in General orders) that those of the Soldiers who have been thus shamefully and unreasonably treated, or can give information on the subject, do make their complaints in form before the Grand Jury, or some Magistrate of the County that those extortioners may be proceeded against according to law, or pointed out by the public as Unconscionable men.”— *Symmes to Washington*, Mar. 6, 1780. Symmes's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

the Soldiery in their late distress, and they think proper to communicate their names, I will direct measures to be taken to obtain the Witnesses to the facts, if they belong to the Army. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>52</sup>

## **To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, March 10, 1780.

Sir: “Since I had the Honor of writing to Your Excellency on the 26th Ultio. I have obtained Returns of Moylan's and Sheldon's Regiments of Light Dragoons, in which I find there are some Men belonging to the state of New Jersey. I inclose a particular Return of them, specifying the Terms of their engagements.”

I have the Honor, etc.

Moylans 21. Sheldons 11 = 32

[P.S.] I have had the Honor of Your Excellency's Obliging Favor of the 26th of Feby. and am indebted for the very polite and friendly manner in which You have been pleased to express Yourself on the subject of my Letter of the 19th.



Your Excellency's observations with respect to the Enemys affairs in Europe, appear to be well warranted by

52. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

the public prints that have been received; but I hope nevertheless as You do, that the States will not relax in any necessary and prudent preparation. We may be certain from what has happened, that the Enemy will never give over prosecuting their claim till compelled by the last necessity. I congratulate You on the proceedings in Ireland which seem well calculated to hasten this.<sup>78</sup>

78. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The same letter, with necessary changes in text to fit and minus the postscript, was sent to President Joseph Reed, of Pennsylvania, and Jeremiah Powell, president of the Massachusetts Council.

#### **To GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE**

Head Quarters, March 10, 1780.

Sir: Since I had the Honor of writing to Your Excellency on the 20th Ulto. I have obtained Returns of some Corps, which I had not then. I find there are in Moylan's Regiment of Light Dragoons a few Men belonging to the State of Maryland, of which I inclose You a particular Return, specifying the terms for which they stand engaged.

I have received within a few days past the Honor of Your Excellency's Letter of the 3d of last month. In consequence, I have informed General Gist<sup>79</sup> that a Flag shall be furnished to convey Your passport to New York, respecting Mrs Chamier's furniture &c, and I very much wish that She may receive them safe. Her peculiar circumstances and the generosity of Mr Chamier in his life time to our prisoners, as has been frequently mentioned, seem to have given Mrs Chamier a good claim to the indulgence the Council have granted. I have the Honor, etc.<sup>80</sup>

[MD. H. S]

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Morristown, March 16, 1780.

D. Sir: I have received your Excellency's letter of the

79. Brig. Genl. Mordecai Gist.

80. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

8th of this month in favor of Capn. Fitzrandolph.<sup>8</sup> The Capns. known zeal and usefulness entitle him to consideration and I shall be very well pleased if we can effect any thing towards his relief or releasement. At present commissioners from the enemy, and on our part are sitting at Amboy for the purpose of an exchange of prisoners. Should the parties be happy enough to agree upon terms of a general cartel, your Excellency may be assured that in carrying it into effect, I shall give directions that his exchange be made an object. But if no agreement of this kind takes place, I cannot promise an exclusive or partial exchange for the Captn. The length of confinement of many of our officers, some of whom have been prisoners since the affair of Long Island, has alone made them extremely sensible of any exchange, which has the least appearance of partiality. This, besides the infringing the order established for carrying on partial exchanges, which gives the preference to the oldest officer in captivity will put it out of my power to do any thing in this line; especially under the present state and circumstances of our prisoners. With the most perfect regard etc.<sup>9</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Morristown, March 25, 1780.

Dr. Sir: I have to acknowledge two favors from your

8. Capt. Nathaniel Fitzrandolph, of the New Jersey Militia. He had been wounded and taken prisoner at Long Island in August, 1776; exchanged in May, 1780; died of wounds received at Springfield, N. J., in June, 1780.

9. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

Excellency, both of the 10th of this month.

I flatter myself that the measures of the Assembly for recruiting the quota of troops, and bringing them into the field, will fully answer your Excellency's expectations. I am persuaded that for such an essential purpose, nothing will be left undone.

That part of your Excellency's letter which relates to the obstructions that oppose both the raising and purchasing of Cattle is very interesting. You are not unacquainted with our difficulties heretofore, to keep the army together, and at the same time preserve it from starving. We are still in the most dependent and precarious situation in this respect. I flatter myself, however, that the late system of finance adopted by Congress, by giving the old money a fixt value, and providing the exchequer with new, which is to have the same consideration as specie, will obviate those embarrassments and difficulties with which we have struggled.

This and the measures recommended by Congress to furnish the army with supplies, assisted by the exertions of the respective States, I trust will have a salutary operation, and give to our affairs in general a more agreeable countenance.

I am happy in the opinion, that there is no system which has the public good for its object, but will receive your utmost protection, and be forwarded by every means in your Excellency's power. I have the honor etc.<sup>59</sup>

59. In the writing of James McHenry. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

## **CIRCULAR TO THE STATES**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, March 26, 1780.

Sir: You<sup>68</sup> will have received I presume before this, a Transcript of an Act of Congress of the 25th of last month calling on the several States for Specific quantities of provision, Rum and Forage for the Army and directing the Articles of Supplies to be collected and deposited at such places in each of the States, as should be judged most convenient by me. In the case of a defensive war like ours, which depends almost wholly on the movements and operations of the Enemy, it is difficult if not impracticable, to fix on places of Deposit for Stores, which may not be rendered improper by subsequent events, and all we can do upon such occasions, is, to collect them where it shall appear from a comparative view of circumstances, that they will be probably secure and most likely to facilitate the purposes intended. I have considered the point with respect to the supplies required of Your State, and I beg leave to inform You, that it appears to me, they should be deposited at the following places and in the proportions set against each respectively. Viz:<sup>69</sup>

Charles Town No.4 24, 000 Gallons of Rum

Portsmouth 11, 643 Do

35, 643

68. The draft at this point has within brackets “or Your Excellency as the case maybe.”

69. The draft has: “[Vide the Inclosed paper fixing the places of Deposit in each State.]” This paper is in the *Washington Papers* under date of Mar. 25, 1780. It is a tabular statement, headed: “Places for depositing Stores and the proportion of each species to be collected at them respectively”; to which the following “Remarks” are appended: “The Hay required of Rhode Island to be collected on the requisitions of the Q Master General; who will make them from time to time as the probability of its being wanted shall seem to make it necessary.” This paragraph was added to the circular sent to Gov. William Greene, of Rhode Island. In the tabular statement, opposite North Carolina, is the note: “The places of deposit for the stores to be furnished by it, must be fixed

by the Governor of the State and the Commanding Officer in the Southern department.” Opposite South Carolina is: “The places of deposit for the Stores to be furnished by it, must be fixed by the Commanding Officer in the Southern department, who will consult the Govr. of the State upon the occasion.”

As to the Beef,<sup>70</sup> the time and place of delivery 'c the proportion from time to time must of necessity be governed by the occasional requisitions of the Commissary General; which must also be the case with respect to the Salt and it's ultimate places of deposit. I have Honor etc.<sup>71</sup>

[N.H.H.S.]

70. The draft has “supplies of Beef.”

71. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The text is from the letter sent to President Meshech Weare, of New Hampshire. The circular was sent also to Jeremiah Powell, president of the Massachusetts Council; to Govs. William Greene, Rhode Island; Jonathan Trumbull, Connecticut; George Clinton, New York; William Livingston, New Jersey; Thomas Sim Lee, Maryland; Thomas Jefferson, Virginia; Presidents Joseph Reed, Pennsylvania, and Caesar Rodney, Delaware. (See the letters to President Reed (April 12) and to Govs. Richard Caswell and John Rutledge, of North and South Carolina, respectively.) In the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress are photostats of the letters sent to Meshech Weare, Joseph Reed, Thomas Sim Lee, and Jonathan Trumbull—all in the writing of Harrison.

#### **To GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE**

[March 28, 1780.]

Sir: I have been honored with your Excellency's

favor of the 8th of this month.

I would observe with respect to the request to station one of the Regiments for the ensuing campaign in the State of Rhode Island, that at this time, it is impossible to give your Excellency any decisive answer. Whether it will or will not be in our power, or whether it will be necessary, depends so much on the application the enemy may make of their force, the State of our own strength, as opposed to theirs, and other considerations of a contingent nature, that you will perceive nothing certain can be promised on the subject.

I am persuaded of the exertions of your State, and that no means, which it has, will be left untried to forward the views of Congress in recruiting the army to its full complement, and I would wish your Excellency to believe that whatever application is made of the troops under my command can only have the general good for its object. I have the honor etc.<sup>91</sup>

**To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 1, 1780.

Sir: I have been honoured with Your Excellency's Letter of the 21st Instant with the Inclosures to which it refers.<sup>37</sup>

91. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

37. Reed's letter is not now found in the *Washington Papers*, but the memorial of the Pennsylvania artillery officers to the Supreme Executive Council, dated March 20, and the resolve of the Council, referring the matter to Washington (March 21), are in the *Washington Papers*.

The proceedings of the Honourable Council on the subject of the Memorial, were certainly founded in the greatest propriety, and I am surprised the Officers in whose behalf it was preferred, should have wished for a departure from a general principle of arrangement. At the same time that the determination of the Council on the occasion must be approved by all, I cannot but acknowledge

myself peculiarly flattered by their expressions of confidence and the manner in which they have been pleased to refer the business to me. I have the Honor etc.<sup>38</sup>

**To DEPUTY GOVERNOR JABEZ BOWEN**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 4, 1780.

Sir: I have been honored with yours of the 20th: ulto. informing me of the necessity of detaining Lieut. Chapin<sup>64</sup> of Colo. Sherburne's Regt. a few days beyond the limitation of his furlough.

The intelligence from Bilboa, which you were pleased to communicate is of a very disagreeable nature, and if true in its extent, may be followed by serious consequences. It however appears that the spanish ships made a most gallant resistance.<sup>65</sup>

38. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

64. Lieut. Seth Chapin, of Sherburne's Additional Continental regiment. He resigned in April, 1780.

65. "We just hear by a Vessell from Bilbo in a short Passage of the Defeat of the Spanish Squadron of seven Sails of the line, off Gibralter. They weir attacked by Twelve British. Their was 4 Spanish Sunk. Two taken and one made her escape on the other side 2 British sunk. This must put an end to the Sige for the present."

I shall give directions to Major Perkins<sup>66</sup> respecting the removal of the Continental Artillery and Stores to Springfield. I have the honor etc.<sup>67</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 4, 1780.

Dear Sir: Immediately upon the Rect. of your Excellency's favor of the 22d ulto., I desired Brigadier General Huntington to send as many Officers, as could possibly be spared from the Connecticut line, to take your instructions relative to the Business of recruiting. The number, from our circumstances at this time, will fall infinitely short of your Excellency's requisition, but you may be assured every expedient has been fallen upon, to make it as large as possible. Not having seen a Copy of your late law, I have not been able to inform the Officers going upon the recruiting service, to what emoluments they will be intitled, to compensate them for their trouble and necessary and unavoidable Expences. The travelling Charges only of a subaltern Officer to and from Connecticut, at this time, will amount to nearly his year's pay. I make no doubt but the state will take the matter into consideration, and make a reasonable provision, if it has not been already done.

66. Maj. William Perkins, of the Third Continental Artillery. Heitman states that he was discharged in November, 1779.

67. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

I hope the endeavours of your State, and of every other in the Union, to compleat their quotas of Troops, will be attended with the desired success, than which nothing will contribute more to put an end to the Contest in which we are engaged, and which, from its weight, bears hard upon our Abilities to continue it. I am etc.<sup>68</sup>

## **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 5, 1780.

Dear Sir: I have lately been concerting measures with Governor Livingston for the arrangement and disposition of the Militia of this State, in case the enemy, thinking to take advantage of the reduction of our numbers, by the expiration of the times of service of our troops and from other Causes, should move out against us. Should such an event take place, I would wish that the



commanding Officers of the Militia of the County of Orange in your State had orders to assemble at Clarks town and Kakeate to watch the motions of the enemy's Right and to give them all possible annoyance. I make no doubt but General Howe has already concerted a plan with your Excellency for assembling the Militia of the upper part of the state at the shortest notice

68. In tile writing of Tench Tilghman. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

should the Enemy operate suddenly agt. the posts in the Highlands. Another embarkation is certainly preparing at New York supposed to be a reinforcement for General Clinton; but as a measure of this kind will more than probable occasion a further detachment from this Army, the force remaining in New York will be proportionably stronger than ours. Our latest accounts from Charlestown are of the 4th: of March, tho' it seems from a publication in Rivingtons paper that the enemy had made no material progress upon the 11th, at which time General Robertson left South Carolina.

I was duly honored with your Excellency's favor's of the 21st. Feby. and 10th. March. I have the honor etc.<sup>73</sup>

### **To GOVERNOR RICHARD CASWELL**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 7, 1780.

Sir: Your Excellency will have received I presume before this, a transcript of an Act of Congress of the 25th of February, calling on the several States for specific quantities of provision, Rum and Forage for the Army, and directing the Articles of Supplies to be collected and deposited at such places in each of them, as should be judged most convenient by me. With respect to the places of deposit for the supplies to be furnished by your State, I beg leave

73. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The letter sent is said to be in the New York State Library, Albany, N.Y.

to acquaint Your Excellency, that I have not such a competent knowledge of the Country as to<sup>87</sup> undertake to fix them myself. I shall therefore write to the Commanding Officer in the Southern department on the subject and desire him to determine on the places, which appear to him most eligible relatively to the present and probable train of Southern operations and to make the earliest communication on the point to Your Excellency. In the mean time the supplies may be providing, and although I cannot undertake to fix on the general places of deposit for the reasons I have mentioned, I beg leave to add that it appears to me essential, that a part of the flour and forage should be collected as soon as it can be done, at proper Stages on the usual route through the State for the marching of Troops to or from the more Northern Ones, as it may be wanted for the Succours going and which may occasionally move to the Southward. I mention nothing with respect to beef, as Cattle I presume can be easily furnished to answer every occasional demand of this sort. I have the Honor etc.<sup>88</sup>

87. At this point the draft has the following insert, which is noted as having been in the letter of April 15 to Gov. John Rutledge: “arrange the business with Your Excellency, nor indeed of the dependence there may be on the State by that of South Carolina.”

88. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

This same letter, with the variation noted above, was sent to Gov. John Rutledge, of South Carolina on April 15, for which there is no separate draft in the *Washington Papers*.

### **To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 9, 1780.

Sir: I have had the Honor to receive Your Excellency's Letter of the 4th with the Inclosures. I had several days previous to the receipt of it taken into consideration the Act of Congress of the 25th of Feby and fixed on the places in Your State which appeared proper for collecting the Stores at, as Your Excellency will find by the Letter which accompanies this,<sup>99</sup> but was induced to

defer the communication till now, as I thought something possibly might cast up at the southward or some material movement or demonstration take place in this quarter, which might assist in determining with respect to the places of Deposit with more propriety. Every degree of economy in the expenditure of our Stores will be certainly necessary, as You observe and I am persuaded General Greene will concur with You in any measures which can be adopted consistently to produce this in the instance You mention. I have the Honor etc.<sup>1</sup>

**To SAMUEL ALLISON<sup>13</sup>**

Morris Town, April 10, 1780.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 31st of March

99. See Circular to the States, Mar. 26, 1780, *ante*.

1. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

13. Of Burlington, N. J.

representing the ill treatment you had experienced from Lt. Carnes.<sup>14</sup> I assure you I have the utmost abhorrence of any violence offered by an officer to the inhabitants, and shall be always ready to attend to their complaints and grant all the redress in my power.

In the present case it is at your option to obtain satisfaction either from the civil or military law as you think best. If you prefer a civil prosecution, the means are in your own hands, and all that I can do is to enjoin the obedience of the officer to the civil Magistrate to prevent irregularity; if you would prefer a military trial, it will take place as soon as the parties and the witnesses arrive. I have fixed upon the 18th instant for the purpose. You will perceive by the inclosed letter to the Commanding Officer of the corps, the directions I have given in either case, that is of a civil or military prosecution; and it remains with you to determine which will be most agreeable to you. If

you choose a military trial it will be indispensable that you and your witnesses should attend at this place at the time appointed. I am with esteem etc.<sup>15</sup>

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 12, 1780.

Dear Sir: I was yesterday honored with your favor

14. Lieut. Patrick Carnes, of Lee's Partisan Light Dragoons. He was made captain in 1780 and served to the close of the war.

15. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

of the 7th: and am very sorry to find that your Frontier is likely to be again disturbed by the incursions of the Savages. It appears by yours that you had not received the Act of Congress of the 4th instant, by which they approve of your proposal of raising 800 Militia for the defence of the State. I take the liberty of inclosing you a Copy of it, lest the dispatches of the president, conveying the matter to you officially, may meet with some delay. Your Excellency will observe by the Resolve, that these Troops are to be employed "under the direction of the Commander in Chief of the Continental Army." You are so much better acquainted than I am with the parts of the Country which call more immediately for support and defence, that I shall leave the distribution of the Militia who are to be embodied entirely to you. I shall only wish to be informed of the disposition made by you, as I may hereafter have occasion to make correspondent arrangements with Continental troops. I cannot help expressing my thanks for this exertion of the State in raising a Body of Men at this time, as it will probably relieve the Continental Army from making a detachment for the same service, which would be extremely inconvenient, considering the great reduction it has lately undergone by the expirations of service, and by the reinforcements which we have sent and are now sending to the Southward. We hear that some of the States are recruiting

with success, but we cannot expect to derive much advantage from their Recruits till very late in the season, as they have but just entered upon the Business. I have the honor etc.<sup>30</sup>

30. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The letter sent is said to be in the New York State Library, Albany, N. Y.

**TO PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 12, 1780.

Sir: Since I had the Honor of addressing Your Excellency on the 9th Inst. and of transmitting you at that time a Letter of the 26th Ulto on the subject of the supplies to be furnished by Your State in consequence of the Act of Congress of the 25th of Feby. I have more maturely considered the point with respect to the places at which they should be deposited, and I beg leave to inform You, it appears to me that they should be collected at the following places and in the proportions set against them respectively.<sup>28</sup>

Places of deposit. Barls. Flour. Gals Rum. Tons Hay. Busls. Corn. Fort Pitt 2,400 7,000  
150 7,500 Ligonier 300 850 40 2,000 Bedford 300 850 40 2,000 Carlisle 800 4,000 80  
4,000 York Town 100 280 40 2,000 Estherton 200 1000 20 1,000 Sunbury 1000 3,000 60  
3,000 Wyoming 500 1500 40 2,000 Lancaster 500 1200 180 14,000 Lebanon 200 500 200  
10,000 Reading 200 560 180 14,000 Easton 20,000 1000 200 70,000 Philadelphia 13,500  
3083 470 68,500 40,000 24,423 1,700 200,000

The ultimate places of deposit of the Salt must be governed by the requisition of the Commissary General. I have the Honor etc.<sup>29</sup>

28. The table of deposits is identical with the Pennsylvania section in the March 25 table. (See note to Circular Letter to the States, Mar. 26, 1780, *ante*.)

29. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

**TO GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 15, 1780.

Sir: The probability of a continuance of the War to the Southward, which will of course draw the troops of the State of Virginia to that quarter, makes it essentially necessary that every measure should be taken to procure supplies of Cloathing for them, especially of Shoes, Stockings and linen. The distance and the difficulty of transportation would render a supply of those Articles, from hence, extremely precarious, even were our Continental Magazines well stocked, but this is so far from being the case, that I can assure your Excellency there never was greater occasion for the states to exert themselves in procuring Cloathing for their respective troops. General Lincoln has, he informs me, already written to you on this subject, but as he could not be acquainted with our present circumstances and prospects in regard to Cloathing, I thought it expedient to communicate our situation to your Excellency that You might the better perceive the necessity which the State of Virginia will be under of supplying her troops to the southward more particularly with the Articles which I have before enumerated. I have the honor etc.<sup>43</sup>

43. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

#### **To GOVERNOR JOHN RUTLEDGE**

Morris Town, April 15, 1780.

[See Washington's letter to Governor Richard Caswell, April 7, 1780.]

#### **To THE MAGISTRATES OF NEW JERSEY**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 15, 1780.

Gentlemen: The readiness with which you complied with a late application of mine on the subject of provisions for the army, at the same time, that it makes me unwilling to trouble you more frequently than cannot be avoided, gives me the fullest confidence in your aid, whenever necessity and the public good require it. Another occasion presents itself equally pressing with the former,

for the exercise of that zeal of which you have already given so signal a proof. The army is on the point of experiencing the same distresses which dictated the former application to you, for want of adequate means of transportation, which it is impracticable in the present juncture to furnish in the ordinary way. Yesterday the last of the meat we had in the magazines here was issued to the army; and the supplies at the different deposits within reach cannot be brought to camp, by any efforts in the power of The Qr. Mr General.<sup>46</sup>

46. At this point the draft has the following crossed out: "The most unfortunate consequences must ensue, if the different counties do not afford their assistance to supply this defect." Cf with the phraseology adopted later on.

I am therefore to intreat you will employ your influence and authority to raise in your county and furnish Mr. Moore Foreman<sup>47</sup> with such a number of teams and sufficient forage for their support as he may find necessary to assist in forwarding a quantity of salted provisions which is now at Trenton<sup>48</sup> to Camp. Mr. Foreman will give certificates for the hire of the waggons on the same terms mentioned in my address of January last.

I beg you to be assured Gentlemen that this requisition is the result of necessity, and that the most disagreeable consequences must ensue if it is not complied with. It is with peculiar reluctance, I at any time adopt a measure the least inconvenient to the inhabitants. But there are exigencies when just scruples must give way to the public good<sup>49</sup> and even ultimately to their own ease.

You are not unapprised gentlemen of the embarrassments on the public affairs from the depreciation of the currency. These will for some time continue to operate and occasions will probably more than once occur during this period which will call for exertions of virtue and patriotism from the people. While I am confident these will never be wanting. I am happy in the hope that the measures pursuing by Congress will prevent the necessity from being of long duration.

I have the honor etc.<sup>50</sup>

47. Moore Furman (Foreman), Deputy Quartermaster General.

48. Trenton is crossed off; but this seems to be through inadvertence.

49. At this point the following is crossed off: "The present is one of this kind, and I am persuaded you will demonstrate in a new instance the love you bear to your."

50. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Camp, April 19, 1780.

Sir: The Letter I have the honor to inclose Your Excellency, was received by the General when he was just setting out to meet the Minister of France, who is expected at Head Quarters to day. The General desired me to inform you that he thought the further service of the Militia Horse under Captain Craigs absolutely essential, and that he would be obliged by your Excellency's requesting them to continue a Month longer unless their place should be supplied sooner by an equal number of Others. He did not recollect the terms on which they had been engaged by The Baron de Kalb, but said he was willing they should be retained on the same. The Light Horseman that brought the Letter from Brigadr. Genl Huntington will return to day, and will be the bearer of any commands Your Excellency may think proper to send to Captain Craigs. I have the Honor etc.<sup>88</sup>

**To LUCAS VAN BEAVERHOUT<sup>10</sup>**

Camp, Morris Town, April 22, 1780.

Sir: I took the earliest occasion to communicate



88. The draft is in the writing of and is signed “R. H. H., Secy.”

10. Van Beaverhout lived at Beaverwick, near Troy, Morris County, N. J.

your request to His Excellency and the Minister of France, after they returned Yesterday evening. They are both very sensible of your politeness, and would circumstances permit they would do themselves the pleasure of dining with You; but the Minister's engagements as long as he can remain in this quarter and the necessity of his returning to PhiladeIphia, as soon as these are over, will prevent him. And immediately after his departure, the General expects to be engaged in some important business with a Committee of Congress. His Excellency, the Ambassador, in staying as long as he will, will exceed the time he at first intended. I have the Honour &c.<sup>11</sup>

**To NICHOLAS CRUGER**

Head Quarters, April 22, 1780.

Sir: Colo. Hamilton has communicated to me your Favor of the 18th. I have considered the request you were pleased to make for permission to return to New York and beg leave to inform You that I do not think myself authorised to grant it. I hope this will not be attended with any personal inconveniences to Yourself or with any embarrassments to your friends in New York. I have the Honor etc.<sup>12</sup>

11. The draft is in the writing of and is signed “R. K. H[arrison].”

12. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 27, 1780.

Dear Sir: I am informed by Lt. Colo. Stevens, at present the commanding Officer of Colonel Lambs Regiment of Artillery, that there are four Companies in that Regiment, which were raised in Connecticut, and have been adopted and supplied by the State, for which reason, he has desired liberty to send an Officer from each Company on the recruiting service, not doubting but they will be allowed the same priviledges and Bounties as are granted to those recruiting for the Line. Not knowing what arrangements you may have made, I have directed the Officers to apply to your Excellency before they enter upon the Business, that they may not interfere with any regulations which may have been made for obtaining the deficiency of the quota of your State. I have the honor &c.<sup>31</sup>

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 27, 1780.

Dr Sir: I have been honored with yours of the 25th: inclosing a Certificate from Mr. Boudinot that Colo. Billop<sup>34</sup> after he was

31. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

34. Col. Christopher Billop, New York loyalist.

the first time taken by the Militia, was exchanged for Colo. Atlee a Continental Officer: But as Colo. Billop was the last time taken by a party of Continental troops and exchanged for Colo. Reynolds of the Militia, the account between the State and Continent, so far as Billop is concerned, seems settled. However, as the relief of so valuable an Officer as Capt. Fitzrandolph, is made by the enemy to depend upon exchanging Capt. Pitcairne for him, I shall give directions to the Commy. General of prisoners to send him in and to call for Capt. Fitzrandolph in return. The state will thereby become indebted to the Continent for an Officer of the Rank of Capn which they must take the first opportunity of paying. I have the honor etc.<sup>35</sup>

## To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED

Head Quarters, Morris Town, April 28, 1780.

Sir: I have had the honor to receive Your Excellency's Letter of the 18th Instant. I am sorry to find the Council are apprehensive that difficulties will attend the collecting of the supplies required of the State, by the Resolution of Congress of the 25th of February; but I cannot see that it is in my power to prevent them in any degree. Your Excellency and the Council will perceive on recurring to the proceedings, that all I could do on the occasion, was to appoint such places of deposit in each State for the articles they were to furnish respectively,

35. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

as I should judge convenient, or in other words accomodated to the Public service. This I have endeavoured to do in the best manner I was able, from a full consideration of all circumstances, as well with respect to Pennsylvania as to every other State; and I am happy in the persuasion that Your Excellency and the Council will believe it has been the case. It was owing I imagine to the pressing necessity of the case and the very unhappy state of our Public finance, that this mode of obtaining supplies was adopted; and it appears evidently to me, to be the spirit and the expectation of the system, founded I suppose in the same unhappy necessity which led to the requisition for specific supplies, that each State should transport the articles they are to furnish, to the places appointed within them as deposits.

With respect to the representation of the field officers of the Pennsylvania line, which Your Excellency has been pleased to transmit me, it leads without doubt to consequences of an important and interesting nature. The objects in general to which it goes are of such magnitude and delicacy, that I cannot undertake, either to decide or hardly to give an opinion upon them. It is however certainly to be wished and the general interest requires it, that the Regiments which the Public think proper to keep up, should be made more respectable than they are in many instances at present. How this is to be effected is with the particular States to determine. But two modes occur to me,

either to do it by voluntary enlistments or by drafting. Most of the States from which I have heard, have in consequence of the late requisition of Congress adopted the former, and it is said the

business is attended with some success; but should this not be the case, the States must if they mean to continue the War, have recourse to the other expedient. I am also persuaded that there is too much countenance given to Deserters, and if proper Laws could be devised and effectually executed against those that do it, that our force would be much more respectable than it is at present. There have been many instances where Deserters which have been apprehended by Officers, have been rescued by the People, and but very few where the Officers have received their aid and support. As to a reduction and incorporation of the Regiments, it must depend on Congress, and be the effect probably of some general system of arrangement. I have expected for some days past a Committee at Camp; whose powers possibly may extend to this point. If they do and the measure is thought eligible and adopted, it will I suppose of course, comprehend a plan of provision for the Officers who are reduced. The wishes of the Legislature with respect to the Independent Companies of Artillery, will also be without doubt in such case, attended to and the incorporation made if it can be done.

With respect to the depreciation of the money, and making it up to the Officers and Soldiers, it were to be wished that it could be the result of some common general system, that all might stand upon an equal footing. But whether this will or can be the case, I cannot pretend to say. Most if not the whole of the New England States as I have understood, have acted upon the matter and provided for it in the instance of their Troops; but I do not know the principles on which they have conducted this business. This being

the case with respect to them, those of the other States who have the same pretensions, will naturally expect relief from some quarter. It is certain, the depreciation of the money has operated with singular severity against the Army, as their pay has not been encreased and gives them an equitable claim to a compensation; but it may be a matter of difficulty to say how the compensation should be made. If it is to be in money, the payment at a future day would be attended with less injury to the Public and more advantage to those receiving it, as our finances would then be in a

better train and of course the money more valuable; whereas at this time it would require a very extraordinary emission and add to the Public embarrassments, while it afforded but little or no relief to the parties. I have the honor etc.<sup>39</sup>

[H.S.P.]

**To JAMES W. WATSON**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 1, 1780.

Sir: I have recd. your favor. of the 24th ulto: informing me of your being appointed by the State of Connecticut to purchase the quota of Rum and Hay required by Congress, and desiring to be made acquainted with the places of deposit. I have already, in conformity to the tenor of the Resolve, pointed out to His Excellency Governour Trumbull the different places at which the several

39. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

Articles required are to be deposited, and which I make no doubt he will communicate to you; but lest some delay may attend his dispatches, you will be pleased to observe that the following are the places of deposit for the Rum and Hay in the proportions affixed to each.

Gallons Rum Tons of Hay Danbury 10,000 200 Waterbury 100 Hartford 10,000 200 New  
Fairfield 48,558 68,558 500

I am &<sup>55</sup>

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 4, 1780.

Sir: On the 2d. Instant I received the Honor of Your Excellency's Letter of the 8th Ultio. and also one from the Board of War on the same subject. The information the Council had received, of particular States having made exchanges of prisoners taken by them for Officers belonging to their

line, was well founded. It has been done in several instances, tho' without any interference in the business on my part, and therefore I could not but direct the Commissary of prisoners on Your Excellency's application and the Board of War's opinion that it was also warranted by a late Act of Congress respecting prisoners in the like predicament, to propose to the Enemy the Exchange of

55. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Lt Colo Ramsay for Lt Colo Conolly. For my own part I have wished to see the Exchanges of prisoners conducted on the broadest and most general footing; in the order of their captivity; as being the most equitable mode; and that all taken from the Enemy whether by the United or Individual States, should be considered as one common stock, for the common relief of Ours according to this Rule. This has been the case with respect to the prisoners made by the Army in every instance of exchanges under my direction; but the System having not entirely prevailed, Maryland has certainly the same right to benefit her Officers by those of her own capture, that other States had. And the indulgence has not been exercised in any instance in favor of a more deserving Officer than Colo Ramsay. He set out for New York yesterday and would carry with him the proposition for his release. I have the Honor etc.<sup>72</sup>

[MD.H.S.]

**To DEPUTY GOVERNOR JABEZ BOWEN**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 6, 1780.

Sir: I have been honored with yours of the 25th: ulto. I had upon the 10th: of April directed Major Perkins to remove such of the Ordnance and Stores, as belong to the Continent from Rhode Island to Springfield,<sup>90</sup> but lest my letter may have miscarried I have,

72. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

90. See Washington's letter to Maj. William Perkins, Apr. 10, 1780, *ante*.

by this conveyance sent him a duplicate of the order, and recommended it to him, in case they have not already been sent off, to transport the heavy stores by Water to Windsor on Connecticut River. I have the honor etc.

**To ISAAC WOODRUFF**

Morris Town, May 8, 1780.

Sir: I have received your letter of yesterday, and have transmitted a copy of it to General Huntington directing him to inquire into the affair. When I receive his report, I shall take such steps as the circumstances of the case seem to require. In the mean time you may be assured that I shall not countenance any infringement of the rights of the civil authority; but shall be always ready to support the Magistrates in the execution of their duty and suppress all attempts to counteract them. I am etc.<sup>96</sup>

**To SIR JAMES JAY**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 12, 1780.

Sir: I have had the pleasure of receiving your favors

96. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

of the 13th. and 20th. April. The Box of Medicine<sup>25</sup> mentioned in the former came safe to hand, and was the more acceptable as I had intirely expended the first parcel with which you had been kind enough to furnish me. I have directed Colo. Hay to assist you in erecting a small Elaboratory, from which I hope you will derive improvement and amusement and the public some advantages.

Major Beauman intends to return to West point in a few days. I have already signified to General Howe my consent to your then expending as much powder as can be conveniently spared in

ascertaining those points in Gunnery which you are anxious to prove by actual Experiments provided all matters are quiet.

Give me leave to congratulate you on your Brother's<sup>26</sup> safe arrival in Spain. An event truly important and which gives particular pleasure to Sir Your etc.<sup>27</sup>

**To JAMES BOWDOIN**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 15, 1780.

Dr. Sir: I take the liberty to transmit to your care a Letter for Major General Heath under a flying Seal. From an apprehension that he might have left Boston before it arrived and the importance of the objects to which it extends I am induced

25. Chemical for secret writing.

26. John Jay.

27. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

to use this freedom. If the General has not returned to the Army, I would request the favor of you to have the Letter sealed after perusing it, and delivered to him; and if he has that you will have the goodness to consider it as addressed to yourself and to assist me in the several interesting points to which it goes. It may be of infinite importance to obtain the information required, and I should hope it may be done. Our very good Friends and Allies have it much at heart, and view the reduction of Hallifax as a matter of great consequence, as being the Arsenal of support to the Enemy's fleet in these seas and in the West Indies. I very sincerely congratulate you on this prospect of succour from his Most Christian Majesty, which equally demonstrates his wisdom and his great regard for us. Your own good understanding I am convinced, will lead you at once to see the propriety of secrecy upon the occasion and you will be pleased to consider the communication as confidential. I shall be happy, and our interest and character as a Nation indispensably require it, that our exertions may



be proportioned to this fresh instance of magnanimity and generosity the part of our Ally. I confess I have my fears on this head, as we have now from the pernicious system of short enlistments, nothing left us but the Skeleton of an Army, and are under great embarrassments with respect to our finance. Every friend to America should give his most active support to these important Objects.

The accounts from Charles Town received on our part as I learn from Philadelphia, only came down to

the 15th of April. The Enemy's Batteries had then been opened for some days, without any other effect than killing three privates and a Woman and Child and firing One or Two Houses. It is however reported to day, that they have received advice in New York to the 1st Instant, and that matters had not then undergone any material changes. I have the Honor etc.<sup>58</sup>

[MS.H.S.]

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 15, 1780.

Sir: I have the pleasure to inform Your Excellency confidentially that a French Fleet may in the course of a few Weeks be expected upon this Coast, and as it is uncertain what part of the land they may first make, Gentlemen are to be stationed at different points, to give them Signals and to make them some necessary communications immediately upon their arrival. Major Galvan who will have the honor of delivering this to your Excellency is appointed to go down to Cape Henry for the purposes above mentioned, and as he will have occasion to keep one or two Boats in constant readiness to go off upon the appearance of the Fleet, I shall be much obliged by your giving an order to the person who has the superintendence of the public Vessels and Craft in Virginia

58. Win the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. Bowdoin replied (May 31) with full information and an accurate map of Halifax harbor. Bowdoin's letter is in the *Washington Papers*. This

information Washington briefed in an undated memorandum filed at the end of May, 1780, in the *Washington Papers*.

to supply him with the necessary number. Should the public have none of the proper kind in their possession, you will be pleased to recommend to Major Galvan the most certain and speedy methods of procuring them. One or two skilful and trusty pilots will also be necessary, that if any of the ships should have occasion to enter the Bay, they may not be at a loss.

Your Excellency will no doubt see the propriety of keeping the object of Major Galvans mission as much a secret as possible, lest the importance of the dispatches with which he is charged might be an inducement to some of the disaffected to take him off. It would add much to his security, if your Excellency would be good enough to introduce him to some Gentleman in the neighbourhood of Cape Henry, in whom he may confide and with whom he may remain while in that quarter.

It is essentially necessary that Major Galvan should be constantly informed of the operations in South Carolina, and as he will be out of the common track of intelligence, I have desired him to keep up a communication with your Excellency. Your acquainting him therefore with what comes to your knowledge, either officially or sufficiently authentic to be depended upon may be productive of most salutary consequences. I would beg leave to recommend Major Galvan generally to your Excellency for every public assistance of which he may stand in need, and particularly to your personal civilities. I have the honor etc.<sup>59</sup>

59. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Among the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress is a facsimile of the following note in Washington's writing: "Genl. Washington prests. his Compliments to My Lord Stirling, and prays his excuse for not doing himself the pleasure of dining with him to day. Unavoidable business puts it entirely out of his power to do this. Monday 15th May 1780."

**To GOVERNOR JOHN RUTLEDGE**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 16, 1780.

Dr Sir: I have the honor to inclose your Excellency two copies of a letter for General Lincoln, which you will observe contain intelligence the most important. It is a question how far it is the interest of these states to have the seige of Charles Town raised at this juncture; for if the arrival of the French fleet should find the enemy in their present divided state there is every reason to hope for the most decisive consequences. On the other hand if they should concenter their force at New York an operation against it would be attended with immense difficulty delay and hazard; but the Southern states would be relieved, an advantage of the greatest moment. We have great reason to believe the enemy have received advice, by a frigate lately from England of the intention of our allies; if this is the case secrecy on our part would answer little purpose (indeed it is to a certain point impracticable) Sir Henry in this case will probably have taken his measures before this arrives, and unless he expects a naval support from England, will have abandonned the enterprise. Lest however, a want of certainty in his advices may have induced him to continue his operations, it may be of consequence to apprize General Lincoln and the garrison of the expected succour. It would give new spirit to the defence and may tend to prolong it till effectual

assistance can be given, either by directing the French armament to the Southward or by operations in this quarter. You will therefore have the goodness to transmit my letter to him if you have any communication open.

The intention of sending you two copies is this. Should the progress of the enemy against the Town indicate its speedy loss you can so contrive it, that one of the copies may fall into the enemy's hands, as if by accident, or you can otherwise take effectual measures to give them such information of it as they will believe. This may possibly either precipitate their measure to an unfavourable issue or make them relinquish the seige; and in one way or the other save the Town.

If you should not think the Town in material danger it will be best to confine the knowledge of what I now communicate, and not let it go beyond General Lincoln. In this case I would not wish to alarm the enemy, for the reasons already assigned.

I am happy to learn by the way of New York that Charles Town was still safe the first of this Month. I hope it has continued so: A failure in this attempt will have the greatest influence to the prejudice of the affairs of England. I congratulate you on this new instance of the friendship of our ally. The part the Court of France has acted is truly politic and magnanimous and has a claim to the lasting affection of this Country. With every sentiment of respect etc.

P.S. I request your Excellencys opinion as speedily as possible, in case the French fleet and army should proceed to the Southward, where under present circumstances would be a proper place of debarkation, whether a sufficiency of provisions can be procured, the means of transportation for an army, horses for the officers and for a corps of three hundred Cavalry.<sup>73</sup>

#### **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Morris Town, May 18, 1780.

Dr Sir: I have the happiness to inform your Excellency that the Marquis De La Fayette has brought the interesting intelligence of a French fleet and army which was to sail from France early in April for this Continent to cooperate with us. He is gone on to Congress and measures will it is to be hoped be immediately taken by them to put ourselves in a situation to derive the advantage from this succour, which with proper exertion we have a right to expect. You will be sensible that there will be a necessity for the concurrence of the Legislatures of the different states in providing men and supplies. As I am informed your Assembly is now sitting, and may probably be about rising; and as the determination of Congress may not arrive in time to prevent its adjournment, I have thought it proper to give this intimation in confidence that you may keep them together. If they once

73. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

separate it will be impossible to reassemble them in time to answer our purposes; and it is of infinite importance that they should be assembled.

As this anticipates Congress it is of course only intended for your private information, and is not to be officially made use of to the Assembly.

In the intended cooperation, to whatever point it may be directed, we shall stand in need of all the Continental force we can collect. On this principle I wish to have the regiment at Fort Schuyler relieved, and shall be glad your Excellency will be pleased to order two hundred and fifty men, of the 800 raised by permission of Congress, as speedily as possible, to that post. I propose to leave Lt Colonel Van Dyck and some good sergeant in the garrison to arrange the new corps and perform the duties with vigilance and propriety. It is my wish that the officer who commands the 250 men should be inferior in rank to Lt Col Van Dyck as he is, [I am told, an attentive, diligent] officer and the command may be safely reposed in him. I am &c.<sup>89</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 19, 1780.

Dear Sir: I have the honor to forward You by Express,

89. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

Two packets which have just been transmitted to my care by His Excellency the Minister, and the Consul of France. According to the Letters which accompanied these dispatches, they will announce to your Excellency the very generous and affectionate resolution of His Most Christian Majesty to send a Land and Naval Armament to cooperate with us, and that their arrival may be very soon expected. I most sincerely congratulate Your Excellency on this interesting event, which I hope, if we avail ourselves properly of it, as well as demonstrating his Majesty's wisdom and regard for us, will be attended with the most important and decisive advantages in our present struggle, and lead to the conclusion we so ardently wish; the establishment of our Independence and an Honourable peace. The Minister and the Consul are very anxious that there should be provided a

supply of fresh provisions and Vegetables against the arrival of the fleet, which they seem to think will be at Rhode Island in the first instance, and that arrangements should take place with respect to some other matters. From the importance of the subject they entreat your Excellency's aid to put the business in an immediate and proper train, and influenced by the same opinion, and knowing from a happy experience your readiest disposition to promote the common cause wherever possible, I am confident that their requisition will meet, in every point, with your warmest and most strenuous support.

The Accounts received from Charles Town

on our part, only come down to the 15th of April. The Enemy's Batteries had then been opened for some days, without any other effect than killing three privates and a Woman and Child, and firing one or Two Houses. It has however, been reported, that they have received advices in New York to the 1st and some say to the 3d Instant, and that matters had not then undergone any material change. It is certain the York papers to the 15th Instant are silent on Southern operations, which is conclusive with me, that they had nothing important in their favor to that period with respect to them. I have the Honor etc.<sup>1</sup>

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 23, 1780.

Sir: I have the pleasure to inform Your Excellency in confidence, that a French fleet may be soon looked for on our Coast. The place where they will arrive is not certainly known, but they may probably come to Rhode Island. The Chevalier Fayole is charged with some dispatches for the Admiral, which is of great importance he should receive as soon as possible after his arrival. The Chevalier is also instructed to

1. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

procure a sufficient number of skilful and faithful pilots to go on board the Fleet the moment they may arrive, and that there may not be the least possible delay in the business, He is to have a proper number of suitable Boats in readiness, in which they may proceed. Your Excellency I am persuaded will be impressed at the first instant with the importance of this event; and I take the liberty to recommend Mr. Fayole to your good Offices and to request that you will assist him in making the earliest provision of the Boats and pilots of the description I have mentioned, and in every other matter where he may require it. I have the Honor etc.<sup>22</sup>

## **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 23 [-24], 1780.

Dear Sir: I am exceedingly sorry to learn by your favr. of the 19th: the distressed situation of your frontier, more especially at a time, when our attention will in all probability be called, in a great measure, to the operations upon the Coast. My confidential letter of the 18th will explain my meaning. By that you will perceive the impossibility, under present appearances and circumstances, of sparing any further force from the

22. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Continental Army to act in conjunction with the Militia. I imagine it will be scarcely deemed prudent to withdraw Col: Van Schaicks Regt. from Fort Schuyler except matters take an unexpected turn in that quarter, altho' the addition of so respectable a Corps would be very essential should the measures for which we are preparing be carried into execution. From the State of our Magazines here, and from your representation of the situation of matters above, I do not see how troops would be subsisted, supposing they could be spared. We are now upon half allowance of Meat and every now and then the troops are intirely without. Whether the emergency of the occasion, and the flattering prospect of putting an end to the War by one vigorous effort will induce the states to throw in extraordinary aids and supplies I cannot tell; but if such effects are not produced, or some means can be fallen upon to procure Money to enable the Commissaries and Quarter Masters to

provide in the common mode, I do not know what may be the consequences. I have thought that as the peace of the whole Northern Frontier in a great measure depends upon checking the most dangerous Body of the enemy, which will act upon the Mohawk River, it might not be amiss for the Legislature of your State to call upon that of Massachusetts for an aid of Men from their Western Counties. They will shortly be informed of the necessity of assembling our whole Continental force to a point, and will therefore perhaps more readily come into the measure.

I am happy in knowing that your Excellency will attribute my refusal of your request to the true cause, inability. It is certainly to be lamented that we cannot oppose a sufficient force to every point upon which we are attacked, but that not being the case, prudence and policy both dictate the expediency of directing our efforts against the source from whence all our difficulties springs. I have the Honor &c.

24th May.

Since writing the foregoing I have been favd. with your Excellency's letter of the 21st. I at the same time recd. a letter from Colo Van Schaick, in which he mentions the critical situation of Fort Schuyler for want of provision, there not being more as he informs me than one month's supply in the Garrison by the last Return. This is a matter of so much importance that every measure ought to be fallen upon to give Relief. Genl. Schuyler informs me of a parcel of Corn in the possession of Colo. Lewis; I shall direct Colo. Van Schaick to endeavour to get it thrown into the Fort. As to Salt Meat, which is the only kind which is proper I know not from whence it is to come. We have so totally exhausted the Continental Stock, that the Commy Genl. has been obliged to borrow three hundred Barrels from private Gentlemen in Philada. to endeavour to support the Army until Grass Cattle can be brought from New England. The Garrison at West Point are, if possible, in a worse situation than we are here. I am confident that your Excellency

and the Legislature will, considering the importance of Fort Schuyler, and the inability to afford any present relief from the Continental Magazines, take every possible step to throw in a supply. I shall not draw down Van Schaicks Regt. until we see further into the State of matters to the Westward.



I am infinitely obliged by your ready promise to concur with any requisitions which may be made to your state, should our expected co-operation be carried into execution. A Committee of Congress appointed for the purpose of calling upon the States for what supplies may be deemed necessary upon such an occasion are now in Camp; You may therefore expect to hear from them upon the subject in a few days. I have the honor etc.<sup>24</sup>

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 24, 1780.

Sir: Captain Roche Fontaine will have the honor of presenting this Letter to Your Excellency. He is charged with dispatches for the French Admiral and is on business of the same nature with that mentioned in my Letter of Yesterday by the Chevalier Fayole. I request that your Excellency will give him every assistance which may be necessary to facilitate the purposes of

24. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

His Commission. I have the Honor etc.

P.S. Capri Roche Fontaine will be stationed at Seconnet where it will be necessary for him to have some boats and pilots under his direction. I have written to Major Perkins in case the Artillery and Stores are not removed from Providence to let them remain there for the present.<sup>33</sup>

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 25, 1780.

Sir: Doctor Craick, Assistant Director Genl. of the Hospitals in our Army, will have the honor of delivering this Letter to Your Excellency. This Gentleman comes to Providence to provide Hospitals and such refreshments as may be wanted in the first instance for the Sick, which may be on board the Fleet of His Most Christian Majesty when it arrives. The Doctor will consult with your

Excellency about the Houses which will be necessary and proper upon the occasion, and on the best mode of obtaining the refreshments which he may think it essential to provide. He will stand very materially in need of your good Offices in this interesting business, and in a particular manner will want the assistance of the State, either to advance him money or their credit for laying in the requisite supplies.

33. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

“If the Continental Artillery and Stores should not have been removed from Providence when this reaches you, you will be pleased to let them remain 'till further orders.”— *Washington to Maj. William Perkins*, May 24, 1780. This draft is in the *Washington Papers*.

This I am persuaded they will most readily give him from an earnest desire to afford every possible comfort and accomodation to the Sick of Our Good and Great Ally, who have the strongest claim to our attention and generosity. Your Excellency will be pleased to have the Accounts of the disbursements incurred on the occasion kept in a clear and particular manner, which will be punctually paid by Monsieur Corné, Commissary at War to His Most Christian Majesty, or Mr. Danmour<sup>42</sup> his Consul, in Gold and Silver or in Bills of Exchange on France, on their arrival at Providence. One of these Gentlemen will be there in a short time. I have the Honor etc.<sup>43</sup>

## **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 25, 1780.

Dr. Sir: Since my Letter of the 23d and 24th which accompanies this, I have also directed the Issuing Commissary Colo Stewart, to forward a Hundred Barrels of flour from hence without delay to New Windsor to be conveyed from thence by Colo Hay to Albany to Colo Van Schaick, as a farther supply for Fort Schuyler. I hope it will not be long before it arrives at Albany, from whence I have requested Colo Van Schaick to exert himself in concert with

42. Chevalier D'Anmours, Consul of France.

43. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

the Quarter Master, to have it sent to the Garrison with the greatest possible expedition. Perhaps it may be in Your Excellency's power to facilitate the transportation in some degree, and if it should I am confident it will be done. I should be happy if we could throw a hundred or more Barrels of Salt provision into the Garrison, but as I mentioned in my Letter of the 23d and 24th, I do not know from whence it is to come. I have found, however, on inquiry of Colo Stewart, that he believes from Letters in his possession, there is a quantity belonging to the public in Connecticut. He does not know the places of deposit, but imagines these can be ascertained either by Mr Nathaniel Stevens, an Assistant Issuing Commissary at Fish Kills or by Mr Peter Colt, who was in the purchasing department at Hartford. I inclose Your Excellency an Order for a Hundred Barrels, wherever it may be found, and from the Unhappy, thrice unhappy state of our finance and Quarter Master's department, must leave it with You to devise the means of getting it to Albany and to have it forwarded from thence to the Garrison. I confide in Your Excellency's goodness to excuse the trouble I give you on this occasion, which nothing but the cause I have mentioned should have induced me to have offered. I have the Honor etc.<sup>44</sup>

44. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. It is followed by drafts of the orders referred to, to *wit*: "One Hundred Barrels of Salt Provision (beef or Pork) are to be delivered to the Order of His Excellency Govr Clinton whenever demanded, for the use of the Garrison at Fort Schuyler, by Any Commissary or Commissaries or other public Agent of the United States having the same in the State of Connecticut." and "His Excellency Governor Clinton having received my Order on any Commissary or Commissaries or public Agent of the United States having provision in their hands in the State of Connecticut, for One Hundred Barrels of Beef or pork, to be furnished for the use of the Garrison of Fort Schuyler. I request that the several quarter Masters will exert themselves as far as possible, in forwarding the transportation of the same."

**\*To MRS. NICHOLAS HOFFMAN**

Morris-Town, May 25, 1780.

Madam: It gives me sincere pain to inform you that I cannot comply with the request contained in your letter of this date.<sup>45</sup> In consenting to Mrs. Ogdens coming out in the first instance, the feelings of humanity, and not my powers were consulted; the latter were exceeded. I was prompted to the measure from the peculiar situation in which you were represented to be, at the time.

This I thought might justify a permission which I had refused to hundreds, but the occasion having happily

45. Nicholas Hoffman was a Tory refugee from Morris County, N. J., in New York City, whom Mrs. Hoffman wished might be allowed to come to Baskingridge.

ceased in your recovery I have nothing to authorize the Indulgence. It must come from the authority of the State. and if it is their pleasure to grant it at this, or any other time, I shall be happy in facilitating an interview, which you so earnestly desire, so far as it may depend on me. I have the honor etc.

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 26, 1780.

My dear Sir: It is with infinite pain I inform You, that we are reduced to a situation of extremity for want of meat. On several days of late the Troops have been entirely destitute of any, and for a considerable time past they have been at best, at a half, a quarter, an Eighth allowance of this essential Article of provision. The men have borne their distress with a firmness and patience never exceeded, and every possible praise is due the Officers for encouraging them to it, by precept, by exhortation, by example. But there are certain bounds, beyond which it is impossible for Human nature to go. We are arrived at these. The want of provision last night produced a mutiny in the

Army of a very alarming kind. Two Regiments of the Connecticut line got under Arms and but for the timely notice and exertions of their [Officers],<sup>56</sup> it is most

56. The word "Officers" was unintentionally omitted and is supplied from the draft.

likely it would have been the case with the whole, with a determination to return home. After a long expostulation by their Officers and Some of the Pennsylvania line who had come to their assistance, they were prevailed on to go into their Huts. But this without relief can only be momentary. I will not dwell longer upon this melancholy subject, being fully convinced that Your Excellency will hasten to us every possible relief in your power. I am etc.<sup>57</sup>

#### **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Morris Town, May 28, 1780.

Dear Sir: In consequence of the intelligence from Your Excellency communicated to me by General Schuyler, I have put the New York brigade under orders to march tomorrow morning for the North River. They will proceed to Kings ferry and from thence in boats to Newburgh, where sloops with provisions must be ready to convey them to Albany. General Schuyler will give Your Excellency a full account of our circumstances and of the impossibility of our supplying the troops beyond New Burgh, nay even so far we must impress on the road. To his letter, I beg leave to refer you. I have the honor etc.<sup>80</sup>

57. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

80. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton, who wrote this day also (May 28) to General Knox: "The General requests you to furnish two Grasshoppers and a company of Artillery to be attached to the New York Brigade which marches tomorrow morning toward Albany." Copy was kindly furnished by R. D. Graeme, of Richmond, Va., of the original in his possession in 1935.

## To PRESIDENT JEREMIAH POWELL

Head Quarters, Morris Town, May 31, 1780.

Sir: I had the Honor three days ago to receive your Letter of the Instant,<sup>5</sup> covering a Resolve of your Honourable Assembly for annexing Colo Jackson's<sup>6</sup> Regiment to the line of the State, and an Act for preventing and punishing desertion &c. I shall take an early occasion, agreeable to the desire of the Assembly to arrange and number this Regiment.

I have the honor to inclose the Draft of a Proclamation<sup>7</sup> founded in the spirit of the Act with respect to Deserters; Copies of which you will be pleased to have printed and dispersed through the State, if you think it proper. This Act in its design, appears well calculated to answer the Objects of it, and if well executed will have very salutary consequences. There is nothing more injurious to the public and nothing more practised than engaging Deserters on board privateers and Other Armed Vessels and our exertions cannot be too great to prevent it. I have the Honor etc.<sup>8</sup>

5. Not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

6. Col. Henry Jackson.

7. This draft of a proclamation dated May 31, in the *Washington Papers*, is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. It provides that deserters from the Massachusetts regiments who would "join their respective Regiments and Companies, or where they had not been incorporated, surrender themselves to any Officer of their State, present with the Army," within the time and on the terms of the act of the Legislature of Massachusetts, of May 5, 1780, which provided that the deserters should give themselves up within 3 months after the publication of the act; and in case of seamen, within one month after they return to port. The recruits enlisted or were detached from the militia or levies and deserted before or after they joined the Army, were included. The Massachusetts Legislature, on May 5, 1780, passed an act for punishing deserters and for apprehending deserters

from the Continental Army. A broadside copy of this is among the broadsides of the Library of Congress.

8. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, June 1, 1780.

Dear Sir: We have just received a hand Bill from New York, published by Authority, containing an account of the surrender of Charles town the 12th: instant, said to have come by the Iris, which left that place the 17th: The particulars are not given; some leading matters are mentioned, but they are probably either false, or exaggerated. There are circumstances of suspicion attending this account, but as it is announced by authority, I cannot suppose it to be a forgery, but believe the general fact of a surrender to be true. The conditions may be more, or less advantageous.

Advice is just come to me from Amboy, that the day before yesterday one hundred sail of Vessels entered Sandy Hook. This if true, and there is no reason to doubt it, can be nothing else, than Sir Henry Clinton returned from the Southward with the whole or a part of his Army. Flushed with his success there, and tempted by the present posture of our Affairs, it will be extraordinary if he does not immediately aim a Blow at West point. If he does, we have every thing to apprehend, from the total want of provision in the Garrison, which has been for some time on half allowance.

This is too serious a danger not to demand instant exertions to obviate it. We can send nothing but Flour from

this quarter. I am informed there are between two and three thousand Barrels of salted Meat in Connecticut, but the Quarter Master for want of money can do nothing towards its transportation. We must in this exigency look to the State and request the interposition of its authority to furnish Waggons without a moments loss of time. Mr. Hubbard the Qr. Mr. at Harford will receive the Waggons and forward the provision.

We shall endeavour to forward Flour from hence, but we must in like manner have recourse to the Aid of Government or impress by military power. I know your Excellency's wisdom and Zeal too well not to be convinced you will give the matter the speediest and most effectual attention.

Indeed my Dear Sir our Affairs are hastening rapidly to a Crisis. The States must determine whether they will be free by a vigorous exertion of all their resources or submit to the domination of Great Britain. My anxiety to hear in what manner they will take up the several important matters recommended to them in the late circular letter of the Committee of Congress exceeds description. I have the honor etc.

P.S. It will be necessary still to forward supplies of live Cattle to preserve the stock of Salt Meat, which ought to be kept if possible for a deposit in case of a Seige. This too will require Your Excellency's aid.

It is essential towards the proposed cooperation that we should prepare a large number of Fascines and Gabions, and the most convenient places will be on Connecticut River and adjacent to the sound, particularly on Connecticut River. I entreat your Excellency to give pointed orders to the Militia to carry on this Business with industry and dispatch. The Officers of Militia will take their directions from Maj. Murnan of the Corps of Engineers who is now in Connecticut for this purpose. This is an object of real importance.<sup>11</sup>

## **CIRCULAR TO THE STATES<sup>15</sup>**

Head Quarters, Morris Town, June 2, 1780.

Sir: By the Letter from the Honble. the Committee of Congress at Morris Town, which goes with these dispatches, You will find, that these Gentlemen and Myself, after maturely considering the matter, deem it essential to the success of the measures in contemplation to be carried on against the Enemy, to call on the States for certain Aids of militia, in addition to the requisitions for Men already made; and that they should be at places of Rendezvous appointed by me, by the 15th



day of next month. The Aid requested in this instance of your State, is founded on a principle of apportionment common to all the States, from New Hampshire to Maryland inclusive (the Others on

11. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

15. From New Hampshire to Maryland.

account of their distance and the operations in the Southern quarter not being now called on) and is stated at 945 rank and file. This number *well Armed*, and equipped in every other respect for the Field in the best manner circumstances will admit, under proper Officers, I wish to be certainly at Claverac, on Hudson's River at the time mentioned by the Committee, which appears to me a suitable place for their rendezvousing at in the first instance, and from whence they will proceed on my Orders, as occasion may require. It will also be material, on account of disciplining and organising the Men, as well as on account of public (economy, that they should be formed into full Regiments. If this is not done, it will render our Arrangements extremely difficult and irregular, and will add, by greatly encreasing the number of Officers, very considerably to the public expence. I would beg leave to observe, that I think the whole number of Militia requested from your State, should be comprised in Two Regiments about the same size, which would make them nearly equal to the establishment fixed for those of the Continental line. This additional aid, will not I trust and earnestly entreat, impede in the smallest degree, the filling up the Regiments of the State by Drafts to their full complement, as requested by the Honble the Committee in their Letter of the 25th Ulto. This is a point of such great importance, so absolutely essential to give the least prospect of success to our operations, and indeed on which they depend, that I could not forbear mentioning it. If the Regiments are compleated by Drafts, it is possible our demands

for Militia may be a good deal diminished; but this must be governed by events and therefore, for Objects so very interesting, so important as those to which we at present look, we should provide whatever may be possibly requisite. I have the Honor etc.<sup>16</sup>

[N.H.H.S.]

16. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The draft, which is also in the writing of Harrison, has the following list of quotas at the end, the figures and places, of course, varying in the circulars to the different States:

Rendezvous. To New Hampshire. quota 945 to form 2 Regts. Claverack. Massachusetts 4725 9 do Rhode Island 630 1 Providence. Connecticut 2520 5 Danbury. New York 1575 3 Fishkill. Jersey 945 2 Morris Town. Pennsylvania 3465 7 Easton & Trenton. Delaware 315 1 Wilmington. Maryland 2205 4 Head of Elk.

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Springfield, June 10, 1780.

Sir: I have the honor to introduce to You Monsr De Corny, Commissary of War in the service of His Most Christian Majesty. This Gentleman is charged with the important trust of procuring the necessary Supplies of every sort for the French army, on which business he is now proceeding to the Eastern States. I have given him this Letter for Your Excellency to request you will afford him all the assistance in your power towards accomplishing the Objects of his mission in their fullest extent. I have assured him that you will be happy in the opportunity of facilitating his operations in every way that may

contribute to the success of the combined operations. Gratitude for so generous a succour, and the interest of these States unite in requiring this of us. Your Excellency's known wisdom and zeal make it unnecessary to suggest motives.

I take the liberty to recommend Monsr. De Corny to Your Excellency's particular attention. His personal merit and zeal in the common cause intitle him to every mark of consideration. I have the Honor etc.<sup>59</sup>

59. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

This same letter was sent to Gov. William Greene, of Rhode Island, and President Jeremiah Powell, of the Massachusetts Council. In the *Rochambeau Papers* in the Library of Congress, under date of June 10, 1780, is a memorandum in French, drafted for Washington by Lafayette. Hamilton's translation is as follows: "As far as the means of Mr. De Corny will suffice he will without doubt occupy himself in fulfilling the intention of The Count De Rochambeau, knowing not only the letter but also the spirit of the instructions he has received from the French General, being better qualified than any other person to judge of the wants and conveniences of a corps of French troops and having had occasion to confer on this subject with the Minister Plenipotentiary of His Most Christian Majesty, I am persuaded he will follow in all his arrangements the plan most conducive to the service and most conformable to the wishes of The Count De Rochambeau. The choice that His Most Christian Majesty has made of him the knowledge that I have had of his abilities real and personal resource convince me that the measures he shall take will be entitled to my intire approbation; and he may rely on all the aid which shall depend on me to enable him to fulfil his instructions satisfy the demands of the service and the wishes of The Count De Rochambeau. I shall have the honor to deliver him three letters for the governor of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and for the President and Council of Massachusetts."

#### **To LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR PIERRE VAN CORTLANDT<sup>60</sup>**

Head Quarters, near Springfield, June 10, 1780.

Sir: By accounts, tho' not official, I am informed that the party under the command of Sir Jno. Johnson have made a precipitate retreat, upon the approach of His Excellency the Governor. Should this have been the case, I do not apprehend that there will be any occasion for General Clinton to advance with his Brigade beyond Albany. Under present circumstances and appearances

60. Of New York.

that force is most essentially necessary at West point. General Knyphausen with the greater part of the troops remaining at New York landed last Wednesday morning at Elizabeth Town seemingly

with an intention to penetrate the Country, but after advancing five or six Miles, in which distance he was warmly opposed by Maxwells Brigade and the Militia hastily assembled, he returned the same evening to Elizabeth town point and the next day threw over his Waggons, part of his Artillery and some of his Horse to Staten Island, from which we concluded he meant to return with his whole force to his former positions. But contrary to our expectations he still remains on Elizabeth Town point and has brought back some Cavalry, Artillery, and Stores. It is difficult to determine with precision the intent of this manœuvre. By some it is conjectured, that it is meant to amuse us here, while the whole or part of the force from the southward is to return and operate against the posts upon the North River, the Garrisons of which are exceedingly reduced by the expiration of service of the Men allotted to them. This carries with it the greater air of probability, as we have too much reason to think that Charles town has fallen to Sir Henry Clinton. West point with the addition of General Clinton's Brigade would be tolerably secure against any Coup de main, and except it can be carried in that way, it may be relieved by reinforcements from the Neighbouring States. From this short view of matters, you will see the necessity of bringing down the New York Brigade unless the cause of sending it up should still exist. Should you therefore be of opinion that their service may be dispensed with at present, you will be

pleased to forward the inclosed by Express to General Clinton which contains an order for his return to West Point, and which I hope nothing short of the most urgent occasion for his stay above, will prevent being sent to him. I have the honor etc.<sup>61</sup>

**To PRESIDENT CÆSAR RODNEY<sup>62</sup>**

Head Quarters, at Springfield, June 10, 1780.

Sir: I have had the honor to receive Your Letter of the 3d. Instant. It appears to me necessary that appointments should be made to the Four Vacant Ensingcies which Major Patten has reported. It is essential to service that Troops should be well officered and in ours the complement allowed should be generally full, as from the nature of our establishment, it is rather limited, and besides three or four Officers are employed in the Regimental and Brigade Staff, who do not act in the common

rotine of duty, not to mention that Others are often taken as aids and for other purposes. I mention appointments to the Four Ensigncies only, as the places of the Two Officers in captivity cannot be considered as vacant and of consequence these ought not to be filled by Others. Their captivity however, as Your Excellency very justly intimates is an additional reason to those I have mentioned for making the proposed arrangement. I am &c.<sup>63</sup>

61. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

62. Of Delaware.

63. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

## **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, near Springfield, June 11, 1780.

Dear Sir: I am honored with your Excellency's favor of the 6th, conveying the very agreeable intelligence that a quantity of salted provision is on the way to West Point. It gives me much pleasure to hear that vigorous measures are pursuing by your State to draw forth its resources of Men and supplies, and I am not without hope that the same good disposition will pervade the whole. I am persuaded that the Zeal, which you have manifested upon every former occasion, will, if possible, be increased upon this. The generous interposition of our Ally calls for every exertion on our part, and if we do not strenuously embrace the favorable opportunity which now presents itself, we shall perhaps set down with the melancholy reflexion, that we lost the prize for which we long nobly and virtuously contended, by a want only of a proper use and direction of the means, which we have within our power, at the last and critical moment.

The loss of Charles town seems now reduced to a certainty. It will no doubt give spirit to our Enemies, and have a temporary effect upon our Affairs. But if extensively considered and rightly improved, it may be attended in the end by happy consequences. The enemy, by attempting to hold

conquests so remote, must dissipate their force, and of course afford opportunities of striking one or the other extremity.

General Knyphausen, with the greater part of the force left with him, made a landing at Elizabeth Town last Wednesday morning, and advanced within a mile of this place. He was warmly opposed in his progress by General Maxwells Brigade, and the few Jersey Militia who assembled on the instant. He returned the same evening to Elizabeth town point, and, by throwing over his Waggons, and part of his Artillery and Cavalry to Staten Island, seemed determined to return to his former positions in New York and its dependencies. He however, on Friday, brought back some Artillery and Horse, and still remains in force upon the point. The meaning of this manœuvre yet remains a secret. He either wants to draw us to an unequal engagement with inferior numbers, (as to Continental Troops) or to amuse us here, while perhaps part of the troops is to be drawn from the southward, and to operate suddenly against the posts upon the North River, which are in so defenceless a state, on account of the expiration of the service of the Men who were allotted to garrison them, that I am very apprehensive for the consequences, should such an attempt be in contemplation. This is an additional motive to my wish to still remains in force upon the Point. The meaning of this have those posts well supplied with provision. We might then, upon an emergency, call in a body of neighbouring Militia to the reinforcement of the Garrison. The Enemy, who are undoubtedly well informed of our circumstances, are now taking advantage of the reduced state of the Continental Army. We have been compelled to behold them ravaging a fine Country below the Mountain, with a force, in fact, inconsiderable, but still

such as we should not have been justified in meeting. And to this indignity we must, as often as they please, submit, 'till we receive the quotas of men required from the respective States.

I most sincerely condole with your Excellency on the late severe stroke which you have met with in your family.<sup>69</sup> Although calamities of this kind are what we should all be prepared to expect, yet few, upon their arrival, are able to bear them with a becoming fortitude. Your determination

however to seek assistance from the great disposer of all human events is highly laudable, and is the source from whence the truest consolation is to be drawn. I am etc.<sup>70</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Springfield, June 14, 1780.

Dear Sir: I was yesterday honored with your Excellencys letter of the 8th., inclosing a Copy of one to Congress. There is nothing I am so happy in as in complying with every request you make and motives of public utility would induce me to take any step which I conceived I could do with propriety to forward measures which in any manner effect the supplies of the Army. But in the present case the affair appears to me to stand upon a delicate footing and

69. The death of Trumbull's wife.

70. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

to relate to arrangements of such a nature as I have always cautiously avoided interfering in. I trust my scruples to your Excellency's delicacy and I have no doubt on reconsideration, you will approve my declining to write to Congress on the subject in question.<sup>14</sup>

I thank Your Excellency for the exertions you are making to give relief to our distresses. Every new circumstance proves more and more the necessity of exertion in the present crisis, and evinces how much we have to fear if a spirit of energy does not immediately and generally pervade the States.

The Enemy still continue in the position they took at Elizabeth Town point and are in all probability waiting the arrival of Sir Henry Clinton to commence a vigorous operation somewhere. Our situation is as embarrassing as you can imagine. When they unite their force it will be infinitely more so. Time must unfold the result. I have the honor etc.<sup>15</sup>

**To JAMES BOWDOIN**

Head Quarters, Springfield in New Jersey, June 14, 1780.

D. Sir: I have received Your Two favors of the 29th and 31st of last Month, with the plan referred to, and have to return You my

14. Payment of debts due Connecticut cattle feeders and settlement of the accounts of the late Commissary General of Purchasers, Joseph Trumbull.

15. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. From the original in the Connecticut State Library. The draft, in the *Washington Papers*, is dated June 13, 1780.

warmest thanks for the same and for your very kind and polite attention to my request. The plan and table of reference are very intelligible and satisfactory, and convey a clear idea of many points, about which I was uninformed before. These may be of great use, and from the manner and the person, the accounts were obtained with respect to the Fortifications, I have no doubt of their accuracy as to these, at the time to which they relate. The place<sup>16</sup> appears to be very strong and to have had much attention paid to it's security latterly. I am in hopes from the measures General Heath has taken, that he will be able to procure intelligence of it's improvements and force to a late period.

With respect to Charles Town, although I have received no Official advices of it on our part, the loss of it seems placed beyond doubt. The Articles of Capitulation are published in a York Gazette Extraordinary by Authority, which were signed the 12 of May, with all the preliminary negotiations between the Commanders. The Garrison, at least the part denominated Continental, are prisoners of War. This is a severe blow; but not such as will ruin us, if we exert ourselves virtuously and as we are able. Something like it seems to have been necessary, to rouse us from the more than thrice unaccountable state of security in which we were sunk. Heaven grant the blow may have this effect. If it should, the misfortune may prove a benefit and the means of saving us.



On Tuesday night the Enemy landed at Elizabeth Town point, with all the force they could draw from New York and its dependencies under the command of General Knyphausen,

16. Halifax.

and proceeded the next morning into the Country about Seven miles, within half a mile of this place. At night they retired to the point of debarkation, where they have remained ever since. In their advance they were most spiritedly opposed by the Jersey Troops who lay in the Neighbourhood, and by such of the militia as had an opportunity from their situation and the suddenness of the occasion, to turn out; and there is reason to believe they were a good deal galled. Brigadier Genl Stirling, it seems from good authority, was wounded in the thigh by our picket soon after they debarked. This movement of the Enemy brought the Army to this post on Wednesday last. The cause which justifies this Insulting manuvre on their part, most deeply effects the honor of the States,<sup>17</sup> a vindication of which could not be attempted in the present situation of the Army, without most eminently hazarding their security, at least so far as it might depend upon the safety of the latter. Such is our weak, diminished condition. Our character, our interest, our all that is dear demand, that the States should without the least delay, fill their Battallions according to their established complement. If this is not done, we cannot cooperate with the force so generously coming from our Ally on any large scale, and may, however flattering our views of success may be thought by many, easily become a ruined and an undone people. You cannot, My Dear Sir, render a more essential service to your Country, than to promote as far as it may be in your power, this desirable and all interesting work. I have the Honor etc.

17. Knyphausen's advance into Jersey seems to have been encouraged by the number of deserters daily coming into the British lines, which led the German commander to believe that a movement in force into the State would result in large numbers of inhabitants returning to British allegiance. The strong opposition he encountered from the militia and Continentals completely disabused his mind of this idea.

P.S. The enemy burnt a Meeting House and several Dwelling Houses and Barns. They lost about Forty prisoners. We have suffered but very inconsiderably in this affair; and I have the pleasure to add that the Militia never turned out with greater spirit, than on this occasion.<sup>18</sup>

[MS.H.S.]

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, Springfield, June 15, 1780.

Dr Sir: I have the honor to inclose Your Excellency the copy of a letter which I wrote the 10th to the Lieutenant Governor of your State, and the Duplicate of another, transmitted in that for Brigadier General Clinton. The appearances here indicate more and more a serious design and increase my apprehensions for West Point. I am therefore infinitely anxious that the New York Brigade should as speedily as possible reinforce that post unless objects equally pressing and important demand their assistance on the frontier. Your Excellency knows the immense value of West Point, and will determine as exigencies may require.

I have directed Major General Howe in case his force does not amount to a number sufficient for completely manning all the works, to apply to you for such a number of Militia as will make up the deficiency, 'till the arrival of the New York brigade. I entreat your Excellency to comply with his request. I have &c.

18. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

P.S. I request the favour of you to give General Howe such aid of transportation or otherwise as he may stand in need of for supplying the garrison.<sup>29</sup>

**To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Head Quarters, June 16, 1780.

Dr. Sir: The Board of War having informed me that the city light horse were held in readiness to march to the army whenever I should signify the necessity of their services; I am to inform Your Excellency that in the present posture of things they would be of very great utility and therefore I should be glad they might march as speedily as convenient. If they come I hope they will be able to remain with us three or four weeks. They may depend on not being detained a day longer than the exigency of service requires. I have the honor etc.

P.S. I intreat Your Excellency to hasten the drafts intended for your Regiments to Camp without delay. Our situation is now truly delicate; but if Sir Henry Clinton arrives, who is momentarily expected, and we are not reinforced the worst consequences are to be apprehended.<sup>33</sup>

29. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

33. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton; the P.S. is in that of Richard Kidder Meade.

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Springfield, June 18, 1780.

Dr. Sir: I have just received authentic advice, that a large fleet appeared off Sandy Hook yesterday afternoon and entered as fast as they came up. From every circumstance this can be no other than Sir Henry Clinton. If the enemy push directly up the North River, much is to be apprehended for West Point. It requires all our exertions to put it in a state of defence. I some days since directed General Howe to apply to Your Excellency for the state Regiments to reinforce the garrison. I now entreat you to hasten them forward with all possible expedition, together with the drafts for the Continental batalions, which I am informed the state had determined to make. They will proceed to West Point 'till further orders. Every effort to keep up a full supply of provisions is indispensable.

I would also recommend that your Excellency should put two or three thousand Militia under marching orders to repair to West Point on the application of Major General Howe in case of a sudden emergency. I have the honor etc.<sup>47</sup>

47. In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Springfield, June 18, 1780.

Dr. Sir: I have received advice which appears to be direct, that the Legislature of this State has determined on a draft from the Militia to serve for the Campaign under their own Officers, instead of being incorporated with their Continental batallions. This mode if adopted, will be attended with so many inconveniencies, if followed by the States in general, will be so absolutely pernicious to all the prospects of the campaign, that I cannot forbear taking the liberty to send Brigadier General Knox to represent on my part the ill consequences of the measure, and the superior advantages of the plan recommended in preference. I entreat Your Excellency to procure him the honor of a conference with the Legislature for this purpose. The crisis is so delicate and important; the honor and interest of these States so essentially depend on a judicious and vigorous exertion of our resources at this juncture, that I cannot but manifest my anxiety when I see any measures in agitation that threaten the disappointment of our hopes, and take every step in my power to prevent their being carried into execution. In military questions the Officers of the Army have a right to flatter themselves their Country will place some confidence in their experience and judgment and it is the policy of every wise Nation to do it. I cannot doubt that on reconsideration, the zeal and wisdom which

have distinguished the Councils of this State will embrace what the true interest of America on this occasion demands. I have the honor etc.<sup>44</sup>

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Springfield, June 18, 1780.

Dr. Sir: Since writing the above,<sup>45</sup> I have received a letter from Genl. Forman, dated at 11 OClock last night, of which the following is an Extract.

Yesterday afternoon three Frigates arrived within Sandy Hook. In the Evening a fourth Ship of War run in. The Tory report of this Day is, that Admiral Arbuthnot was on board.

This afternoon a Large Fleet appeared standing for Sandy Hook. The Air my intelligencer says, was too Foggy for good observation; but that before Sun down he counted Sixty five sail of Ships of War and Transports distinctly, and saw a number more in the Offing. That immediately they run within the Hook as they arrived.

From the great probability of the event, besides the unequivocal manner in which it is related, I have no doubt that a fleet has arrived, and that it is Sir Henry Clinton from the Southward. The information I had received from New York before was, that he was daily expected. It is probable from this event and the consequent measures which will be taken on our part, that I shall not have it in my power to send General Knox to wait on the Legislature as I intended. I will therefore take the liberty to give my opinion without reserve, that the Legislature cannot so essentially promote

44. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. From a photostat of rite original kindly furnished by Judge Edward A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N. J.

45. This draft duplicates the preceding letter to Livingston and adds the above as a P.S.

the operations of the Campaign as by complying literally with the requisition of the Committee of Congress for filling their battalions without a moments loss of time to their established complement of Five hundred and four rank and file. The advantages which will be derived from the Drafts, if they are not incorporated in the regular Regiments of the State, will be but comparatively small, to what they would otherwise be; and the Regiments themselves without they are made respectable in this way, will contribute but very little to our strength. Their present condition is absolutely opposed

to all military arrangements. From the arrival of Sir Henry Clinton, with a powerful additional force, to one already superior to what we have, we must in all human probability, be precipitated into the most embarrassing circumstances. The exertions of the States cannot be too instant and immediate to give us succour; and the succour they do give should be disposed of in a way, that will make it the most beneficial. Besides the Drafts being of infinitely less advantage if formed into New Corps, the measure would greatly increase our expence, a point of immense consequence and which wherever possible, should be avoided, from the appointment of sundry Officers.<sup>46</sup>

**To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Head Quarters, Springfield, June 19, 1780.

Dr Sir: The arrival of Admiral Arbuthnot at New York

46. The draft of the body of the letter (here omitted) is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton; the P.S. is in that of Robert Hanson Harrison.

with a fleet of from sixty to seventy sail said to contain a part of the Southern army is an additional motive for extraordinary exertions at this juncture. West Point is far from being in security. Our stores and baggage in this state are almost at the mercy of the enemy if they advance in force. A great proportion of the Jersey teams are in service, and they are quite inadequate to the exigency. We are therefore obliged to have recourse to your state and to solicit the aid of two hundred and fifty teams, as expeditiously as they can be collected; those obtained in the counties of Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester, to be delivered to Mr More Foreman<sup>49</sup> at Trenton; those procured in the upper counties to take in loads of flour, if ready, and proceed directly by Easton to the North River.

It were much to be wished that the teams now furnished may go to the acct. of those required by the Committee; but if they cannot be drawn out with sufficient expedition, in the proper proportion for this purpose they may return after performing the present service, 'till a Further arrangement can

take place for the demands of the campaign, for supplying which, however, the period is arrived. I have the honor etc.<sup>50</sup>

49. Moore Furman. He was Deputy Quartermaster General.

50. In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The cover of this letter is inscribed as follows: "The Express the bearer of this is to ride night and day and should he be in want of a fresh horse all Q Mrs. and other well wishers to the independence of America are hereby requested to furnish him with such horses as will answer the purpose of forwardg. this letter. June 19, 1780. Benjn. Brown Asst. D Q M G."

## **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Springfield, June 20, 1780.

Dr Sir: I have thought proper to send Brigr. Genl. Parsons to your State to receive arrange and forward to the Army, the Drafts and recruits which may be furnished for the Continental Battalions in consequence of the late requisitions of the Committee of Congress. Your Excellency will be pleased to give him such information and advice as will be requisite for his government.

So important is the present crisis that I can omit no occasion of urging the necessity of the greatest vigor and decision in our Public measures; the filling our Battalions above all to their full complement without a moments delay is perhaps a point on which the fate of America is suspended. With proper exertion we may have every thing to animate our hopes, on one side, and with an imperfect exertion we have every thing to dread on the other. I anxiously and ardently hope this idea may govern all those who have influence in our Public affairs. I know your Excellency too well and esteem you too highly to doubt your best endeavours. With perfect respect I have the honor etc.<sup>62</sup>

62. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

## To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Springfield, June 20, 1780.

Dr. Sir: I had this morning the Honor to receive your Favour of the 13th Inst.

I thank your Excellency for your attention to my request for the return of Genl. Clinton and his troops and flatter myself they are before this, at or will be on their way to West point. The measures taken for ensuring the Supply of provisions to Fort Schuyler, were certainly very proper. It was an Object I had very much at heart, and I wish the quantity forwarded had been greater. It is of such importance that the Garrison should be in perfect safety with respect to this, that I have written to General Howe and requested him to send another hundred barrels of flour from West point to Albany to the care of Colo Vanschaick for their support; And as I find by General Clinton's Letter that only Forty Barrels of Beef were sent with Colo Gansevoort, I request that Your Excellency, if the quantity has not been received before this or is not in train, for which I took the liberty to inclose You an Order on the Commissaries in Connecticut some time since, will have the goodness to apply to General Howe, who is instructed to furnish and send on your requisition a Hundred Barrels to Albany. I mean that there should be this quantity at least, exclusive of the Forty Barrels gone on to the post.

I am much concerned at the dissatisfaction and

spirit of desertion, which I find prevailing in Colo Vanschaicks Regiment at Fort Schuyler. Your Excellency will have been fully informed on this head and therefore I will not add any particulars with respect to it. It is much my wish that the Troops of the Garrisons should be relieved, and it may be the more material to do it, from the disposition in which they are; it cannot however be done by Continental Troops without manifest injury under our present circumstances and prospects. I would therefore propose and hope that the plan concerted heretofore between your Excellency and Myself, for sending a part of the Officers and Men raised by the State for Frontier service, may take effect and a number be sent for the defence of the post, which will still remain under the command



of Lt Colo Vandyck. In order to make matters more secure, I wish the Detachment destined for the relief, if circumstances will admit, not to be under Three hundred rank and file. If the post can be relieved in this way, which I hope may be the case, the provisions I have now mentioned had better go under the escort of the Detachment and your Excellency will be so obliging as to correspond with Colo Vanschaick upon the subject and to direct him such an additional aid of transportation as may be required.

I am much obliged by the State of preparation, in which Your Excellency has put the Militia for succouring the Highland posts, and am convinced you will give General Howe such a reinforcement, on his application, as will make the Garrison complete for the present in point of number. I have also no doubt that there

is the best disposition possible, both in Your Excellency and the State to comply with the requisitions of the Committee<sup>68</sup> and that You will second the intended Operations by every exertion in your power.

I am exceedingly happy in Your Excellency's safe return and sorry You should have thought it material either to give me a detail account of your proceedings after Sir John<sup>69</sup> or, having done it, that any apology was necessary for the favor or for the result of the expedition. You have only to regret, that all you wished, did not happen; but your zeal and your active judicious exertions must convince every body most fully, as they do me, that all that was practicable and more than could have been expected, was done by you to accomplish the ruin of himself and party. I hope the rapid manner in which the Enemy were pursued and forced to retreat, will be attended with good consequences. The succour You received from the Militia of the Grants<sup>70</sup> upon your request, is a very agreeable consideration and the conduct of themselves and Officers upon the occasion greatly to their credit.

You will have heard and will see by the papers the fate of Charles Town. On Friday afternoon and Saturday between Sixty and Seventy of the Enemy's Vessels came into the Hook. It was a fleet from

South Carolina, and according to the accounts I have received it is said they have brought from Four to Six thousand Troops. Sir Harry Clinton from information obtained just now, through Two Channels, has returned himself. I am &c.<sup>71</sup>

68. Of Cooperation.

69. Sir John Johnson.

70. Vermont.

71. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

### **To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Head Quarters, Whippeny near Morris Town, June 25, 1780.

Dear Sir: I have been honored with your Excellency's favors of the 20th. and 22d. instants. I am exceedingly sorry to find you express a doubt of being able immediately to procure the number of 250 Waggons in the State of Pennsylvania; if we should be disappointed in that quarter, I know not where we are to apply. The Quarter Master General has, as you observe, a considerable number of Waggons laying idle for want of Horses, could you procure a sufficiency of them, to put these Waggons in motion, it would answer a very valuable purpose, that of moving the Baggage and necessary Stores of the Army, which

are now scattered in a most inconvenient manner upon the whole communication, subject to loss and peculation, and making an amazing draft from the strength of the Army, as an extra number of guards must be left to take care of them.

The Enemy abandoned this State the night before last, they advanced in the course of the day, in very considerable force as far as Springfield, which they burnt intirely (two Houses excepted) with several buildings in the neighbourhood. They were very warmly opposed in their progress, by the advanced troops under the command of General Greene. This change of position will render the

service of the Philada. Troop of Light Dragoons unnecessary at this juncture. Hearing they were upon their march, I yesterday desired Colo. Moylan to meet them, with my thanks for their ready compliance with my request, and to inform them that there was no occasion for them to come forward.<sup>96</sup>

I very much admire the patriotic spirit of the Ladies of Philada., and shall with great pleasure give them my advice, as to the application of their benevolent and generous donation to the soldiers of the Army. Altho' the terms of the association seem in some measure to preclude the purchase of any article, which the public is bound to find, I would, nevertheless, recommend a provision of shirts in preference to any thing else, in case the fund should amount to a sum equivalent to a supply of eight or ten thousand. The Soldiery are exceedingly in want of them, and the public have never, for several years past, been able to procure a sufficient quantity to make them comfortable.

96. A letter from Lieut. James Budden, of June 26, is in the *Washington Papers*. Washington's reply (June 28) herewith is from a copy in the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress: "I was favored yesterday evening with your letter of the 26th., advising me of the arrival of your Troop at Trenton. The spirit and the alertness which the Philadelphia Light Horse have displayed on this occasion is such as to deserve my best thanks. I should have been happy their services had the enemy Continued in the Jerseys; but as they have evacuated this state and as the necessity is over which called them out, you will be pleased to return to Philadelphia. Indeed, I thought to have prevented your advance so far, having requested Colonel Moylan, who was going that way, after the enemy retreated, to countermand the order for bringing you to camp. I am etc."

They are besides more capable of an equal and satisfactory distribution than almost any other Article. Should the fund fall short of a supply of the number of shirts I have mentioned, perhaps there could be no better application of the Money, than laying it out in the purchase of refreshments for the Hospitals. These are my Ideas at present. When I have the pleasure of hearing more particularly from Mrs. Reed, I shall probably be able to form a more complete opinion.<sup>97</sup>

I shall, agreeable to your Excellency's request, send down a few Officers to take charge of, and bring forward the Drafts. As to the business of recruiting by voluntary enlistments, you may be assured that its operation, if attended with any tolerable success in the end, will be too slow to answer our present purposes. I would therefore most earnestly recommend to you, to place no dependance upon any such measure, but, by an immediate augmentation of Drafts, supply the Men required from Pennsylvania by the Committee of Congress. They make so considerable a part of the force estimated as necessary to give a probability of certainty to our expected operations, that they cannot be dispensed with.

Be kind enough to deliver [or forward] the inclosed to Mrs. Washington. I am infinitely obliged to Your Excellency and to Mrs. Reed for your polite attention to her. I have the honor etc.<sup>98</sup>

97. Mrs. Esther Reed's letter to Washington is dated July 4: "The Subscription set on foot by the Ladies of this City for the use of the Soldiery is so far compleated as to induce me to transmit to your Excellency an account of the Money I have received, and which, altho it has answered our Expectations, it does not equal our Wishes but I am perswaded will be received as a proof of our Zeal for the great Cause of America, and of our Esteem and Gratitude for those who so bravely defend it. The amount of the Subscription is 200,580 Dollrs and £625.6. 8. in Specie which makes in the whole in Paper Money 300,634 Dolts. The Ladies are anxious for the Soldiers to receive the benefit of it and wait your Directions how it can best be disposed of. We expect considerable additions from the Country; and I have also wrote to the other States in hopes that the Ladies there will adopt a Similar plan to render it more General and Beneficial." Mrs. Reed's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

The example was followed by ladies in New Jersey, Miss Mary Dagworthy wrote from Trenton (July 17): "By order of Mrs. Dickinson and the other Ladies of the Committee, I have transmitted to your Excellency by Colonel Thompson Fifteen Thousand four hundred and eighty eight Dollars, being the Subscriptions receiv'd at this place, to be disposed of in such .manner as your Excellency

thinks proper, for the benefit of the Continental Soldiers. As the other subscriptions come in, they will be forwarded without delay.” Miss Dagworthy's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

98. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

## **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Ramapough, June 27, 1780.

Dear Sir: By a letter from Your Excellency to Major General Howe, which he communicated to me, it appeared, that you were ordering a body of two thousand Militia to his assistance. This measure at the time was a very eligible one; but as, by the removal of our stores most exposed, we have had it in our power to detach a reinforcement of Continental Troops to West Point, and to remove the rest of the Army to this place, I consider that important Post as now in a state of sufficient security to enable us to dispense with the immediate services of the Militia. The calling them forth will be peculiarly inconvenient at this time; both because it will impede our preparations and injure agriculture. The completing the Continental Battalions, by an instant draft, [to their full establishmt.]<sup>14</sup> is the pivot on which the intended co-operation *absolutely* turns. Without this We can undertake nothing offensive; for which reason I am willing to submit to all the embarrassments arising from the present weakness of the Army, rather than retard that essential measure by employing the Militia. I therefore advise that the body of Militia (now probably on the march) may return home and only be held in readiness. The Enemy continue to menace us.

I can omit no occasion of repeating my earnest entreaties to Your Excellency to use all your influence to forward

14. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington. The abbreviation was not followed by Meade in the letter sent.

the measures recommended by the Committee of cooperation. I assure you with the greatest sincerity, and truth, that nothing short of them will answer our purpose and that I am fully

persuaded, from a general view of European and American affairs, the fate of our cause depends on the exertions of this campaign. The sparing system has been too long tried, till it has brought us to a crisis little less than desperate, and if the opportunity now before us be neglected, I believe it will be too late to retrieve our affairs. [These are ideas, that I may safely trust to your judgment, though I know they would be slighted by those indolent and narrow politicians, who, except at the moment of some signal misfortune, are continually crying, all is well; and who to save a little present expence and avoid some temporary inconvenience (with no ill designs in the main), would protract the War and risk the purdition of our liberties.]<sup>15</sup> As I always speak to Your Excellency in the confidence of friendship I shall not scruple to confess that the prevailing politics, for a considerable time past, have filled me with inexpressible anxiety and apprehension, and have uniformly appeared to me to threaten the subversion of our independence. I hope a period to them is now arrived and that a change of measures will save us from ruin.

I beg Your Excellency to accept my warmest acknowledgements for your exertions in support of West Point.

With perfect respect etc.<sup>16</sup>

15. This bracketed portion was omitted from Washington's letter to Gov. George Clinton, June 27, 1780, *q. v.*

16. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. From the original in the Connecticut State Library. Sparks prints this as two separate letters of June 27.

## **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, Ramapough, June 27, 1780.

D. Sir: In the absence of the Committee agreeable to the direction of your Excellencys letter I opened it and perused the contents. The measures taken by the Legislature are vigorous and correspondent to that spirit which has uniformly actuated them. In the execution I am persuaded

whatever depends on you will be done. I regret that there seems to have been a mistake in a very essential article; the men for completing the batalions. I know not what may have been the intention of the Committee; but mine was to have the batalions filled to their establishment in the field, independent of the levies for frontier service, and my calculations of the force requested for the intended cooperation have turned upon this principle; any thing short of it will be a serious and injurious disappointment.

As I am not near enough The Committee to take their sense and as the point is of too much importance to admit delay, I have thought proper instantly to return your express with an explanation of my views: If they arrive before the Legislature rises, I entreat your Excellency to lay my letter before them and obtain their determination. There is a certain proportion of regular continental force which is essential to our success, and the full complement of our Continental batalions is the least that gives a tolerable prospect of success. By having these we may possibly lessen the number of Militia,

but without these no additional number of Militia will compensate for the deficiency. Your Excellency's knowledge of Service will make this reasoning clear to you, and supersedes the necessity of any arguments to enforce it. I have the honor etc.<sup>18</sup>

## **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, Ramapough, June 27, 1780.

My Dear Sir: I duly received your letter of the 17th. and am much obliged to you for the succour so readily afforded to West Point. The reinforcement of Continental troops sent there and the present disposition of the army make it inexpedient at this time to keep the militia in the field and I have therefore directed General Howe to dismiss them. The continuing them in service at this time would be peculiarly inconvenient, both because it would impede our preparations and would be injurious to agriculture. In particular it would interfere with the measure of drafting to complete...

18. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

When I make these observations, justice demands that I should acknowledge to the honor of your state that the pernicious system I have complained of has not influenced your councils but that New York is among the few that has felt the necessity of energy and considering its situation has done every thing that could be expected from it. I doubt not a perseverance in the same plan; and that Your Excellencys influence will be as it has been successfully employed to promote it. With every sentiment of respect etc.<sup>19</sup>

19. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The omitted portion is almost identical, with the exception of the bracketed portion noted therein, with that in Washington's letter to Governor Trumbull, June 27, 1780, *q. v.*

**To DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER AND JOSIAH BEALL<sup>20</sup>**

Head Quarters, Ramapough, June 27, 1780.

Gentlemen: I was last Evening honored with yours of the 22d Inst. containing propositions of both Houses for substituting a compleat additional Battalion inlisted for the War, in lieu of the aid of Militia required by the Committee of Cooperation in conjunction with me. The reasons urged by you, in support of this alteration, are weighty, and such as, all circumstances considered, I think are sufficient to induce an acceptance of your offer, provided you can be upon a certainty of filling and marching the Battalion to the place of rendezvous by or near the time fixed upon for the junction of the Militia, or at furthest by the last of July. But this you will be pleased to observe is only my opinion upon the subject. As the Committee of Cooperation are yet at Morris Town, some distance from hence, I have taken the liberty, to save time, of putting this letter under a flying seal to them, and have desired them, if they coincide with me, to forward it to you, with their approbation of the measure.



It cannot yet be determined whether the whole or any of the Levies to compleat your Continental Battalions will be wanted to the Southward; perhaps circumstances may require that part of them should be sent to that quarter, and part come to this. It would be therefore most convenient to form them into two Corps

20. President of the Maryland Senate and Speaker of the Maryland House of Delegates, respectively.

for the present, under the care of such number of Officers as Major General Baron de Kalb will be able to spare from the Line. The number I am confident will be but few, as the Regiments were most of them very deficient of Subalterns when they marched from this Army. Inclosed you will find a letter to the Baron upon the subject.

I cannot help impressing upon you, Gentlemen, the indispensible necessity of filling and forwarding the additional Battalion in the time I have before mentioned, or of having the whole, or the greater part of the Militia required, ready for service, in case you see no probability of compleating the Battalion. As twenty five hundred Militia from your State were, by our Estimates, deemed essential to the cooperation, you will easily perceive that so great a diminution of force, altho' the composition will be better, must be attended with many inconveniences. The compleating your Continental Battalions is a matter of equal importance.

Give me leave, Gentlemen, to present, through you, my warmest acknowledgments to both your Houses for their ready attention to and compliance with the several requisitions, more especially of provisions, which I have lately been under the necessity of making from them: And from the tenor of the letter which I have now the honor of answering, I am confident that no means will be left untried to furnish the Men in question, either upon a permanent establishment, or if that cannot be done in a reasonable time, for a temporary service. I have the Honor etc.<sup>21</sup>

[MD.H.S.]

21. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

**To SAMUEL MEREDITH AND THOMAS BARCLAY<sup>22</sup>**

Head Quarters, Ramapough, June 27, 1780.

Gentlemen: I have been favored with your letter of the 24th. The spirit and exertions of the citizens of Philadelphia while they relieve us from the most pressing embarrassments cannot fail to produce a happy effect on our affairs in general. They claim and deserve the thanks of their country.

With respect to the supplies which you have been appointed by them to forward, at this juncture, or while the Jersey is free from the operations of the enemy they may be ordered by the common route to New-Windsor. As this route however is subject to interruption you will be pleased from time to time to consult with Mr. Furman Q M. who will be informed on this head. He will also point out to you the stages for the teams. I would beg leave to recommend that there be no accumulation of the supplies made at Trenton or any intermediate place between that and the North river. It would be establishing an object for the enemy, which will be prevented by your having them transported from Philada. in such quantities as shall be proportioned to the means which can be provided for forwarding them to N: Windsor. I am etc.<sup>23</sup>

22. Meredith and Barclay were then at Trenton, N.J., charged with forwarding 3,000,000 rations and 300 hogsheads of rum to the Army which the citizens of Philadelphia had provided.

23. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

**To PRESIDENT JEREMIAH POWELL<sup>27</sup>**

Camp at Ramapough,<sup>28</sup> June 28, 1780.

Sir: I have had the honor to receive Your Two Favors of the 5th and 10th Instant. With respect to the subject of the first, there is nothing which I more earnestly wish than to give protection to every part of the States, and to secure them against the incursions and depredations of the Enemy; but unhappily the means in my power are totally inadequate. Our force, from the fatal system of short enlistments, is so reduced that it will not admit of the least possible further diminution by making detachments, and it is already so small that we can scarcely keep a face towards the Enemy. Owing to its weak and feeble condition, the States are daily insulted, and unless it is made and continued infinitely more respectable than it now is, they must be insulted, the War prolonged, and I do not know that I shall hazard any thing, if I say, end finally in their ruin. From this state of matters and the representations the Council have received with respect to our force &c within a short time past, they will readily determine that it is impossible the Coos Country should derive any aid from this Army, though an occasion even should occur, in which some succour might be necessary. I would take the liberty to observe that Congress by an Act, of which the Council could not have had notice when they wrote, have authorized the State of New Hampshire to raise Two Hundred and Fifty Men for their Frontiers which I hope with the common force of the Country, will answer or at least

27. Of the Council of Massachusetts.

28. Meade's account filed June 15, 1780, in the *Washington Papers*, notes an item of 452 dollars paid Mr. Isaac Vanderbeck, at Totaway Bridge on June 28.

in a very great measure, the purposes the Council had in view.

I am extremely sorry to find, that the Continental Officers in the Staff line give the Council so much trouble, and I am the more so, as it is not in my power to afford them the relief they request. The service will not admit a General Officer to be stationed in the state, and if it were otherwise I could not fix one there with propriety, unless there were other Objects for his command than those you have mentioned. Previous to the honor of receiving your Letter, I had received one from Justin Ely Esquire, informing me of the measures taken by the General Assembly on the requisition from the Committee of Congress, and that Springfield was appointed as the place of Rendezvous for the

recruits they intended for their Battalions; and I had in consequence given directions for General Glover and a number of Other Officers to proceed thither, in order to receive and forward them to the Army without the least possible delay. I have the Honor etc.<sup>29</sup>

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE**

Head Quarters, Ramapough, June 29, 1780.

Sir: I was yesterday honored with your Excellency's favr. of the 25th: inclosing a recommendation of the Council of War, to Genl. Heath, to order Colo. Greenes Regiment to march immediately to join

29. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

the Army, leaving as many Officers as possible to bring forward the drafts directed to be raised for compleating the Battalions of the State. Colo. Greenes Regiment being too small to afford any material reinforcement and being usefully employed where it is at present, I have thought it most adviseable for it to remain untill the greater part of the drafts are collected, when I have desired Genl. Heath to put them in motion at the same time, detaining a few Officers to collect and bring up the remaining Levies. Upon their joining the Army, I shall dispose of them in such manner, as will make the Regiments equal in point of numbers. The gallant behaviour of Colo. Angells, on the 23d. Inst. at Springfield, reflects the highest honour upon the Officers and Men. They disputed an important pass, with so obstinate a bravery, that they lost upwards of forty killed, wounded and missing before they gave up their ground to a vast superiority of force.<sup>44</sup>

The ready and ample manner in which your State has complied with the requisitions of the Committee of Co-operation, both as to Men and supplies intitles you to the thanks of the public, and affords the highest satisfaction to Sir Your etc.<sup>45</sup>

44. On June 3 Washington had written to Governor Greene recommending the issue of commissions to officers of Angell's regiment. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

45. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

June 29, 1780.

Dr Sir: I have been honored with two of your Excellency's favors both of the 11th inclosing an extract of a letter from Governor Rutlege.

I cannot but feel most sensibly affected by several parts of your Excellency's letter. The successive misfortunes to the Southward, the progress of the enemy, and the great deficiency in military stores give rise to the most serious reflections, while our situation in this quarter precludes every hope of affording you further assistance. What from the system of short enlistments, and [the unfortunate] delays in filling up our battalions the army in this place, is reduced to a mere handful of men, and left as it were at the mercy of a formidable enemy, subject to see the honor and dignity of the States daily insulted without the power either to prevent it or to retaliate. Under these circumstances your Excellency will perceive how utterly

impossible it is to go further in succors than what is already sent. To oppose our Southern misfortunes and surmount our difficulties our principal dependence must be on the means we have left us in your quarter. And it is some consolation amidst all our distresses that these are more than adequate to remove them; and to recover what we have lost that it is only necessary these be properly directed.

The steps your Excellency has taken to establish posts of communication with the Southern army are essential to facilitate your measures [the necessity of which I had urged in strong terms to

Congress]. I am apprehensive that Congress have it not in their power to furnish you with the Cartouch boxes. I have the honor etc.<sup>46</sup>

## **CIRCULAR TO THE STATES<sup>55</sup>**

Head Quarters, Ramapough, June 30, 1780.

Sir: As the Levies required of the States for filling their Battallions have not yet joined the Army or the French fleet arrived, I beg leave to inform Your Excellency, that it will be unnecessary for the Militia, which the Honble the Committee of Congress were pleased to call for on a late occasion, to be at the place appointed for their Rendezvous, before the 25th of next month. By this time I would willingly hope that things will be in such a Train, as to enable us to commence

46. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

55. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. Addressed in each case to the governors or presidents of those States.

our operations, and to make their aid essential. The present crisis is by far the most important and delicate that this Country has ever experienced, and it pains me in the extreme that we are so backward in all our measures. I hope a moment will not be lost in pushing on the Levies to fill the Battallions. Our allies would be chagrined, were they to arrive to day, to find that we have but a handful of men in the field, and would doubt, it is more than probable, whether we had any serious intentions to prosecute measures with vigor. If we do not avail ourselves of their succour by the most decisive and energetick steps on our part, the aid they so generously bring, may prove our ruin, and at best it will be in such case among the most unfortunate events next to that of absolute ruin, that could have befallen us. I think it my duty as often as I have the honor of addressing the States to forwarn them, that the completion of their Battallions to their full establishment of Five

hundred and four rank and file, is a measure of indispensable necessity to the intended co-operation, and that without it we cannot even attempt any thing decisive. I have the Honor etc.

P.S. As my request to delay the assembling the Militia at the place appointed for their Rendezvous, proceeds principally from the French Fleets not being arrived. I beg leave to observe if this event should have taken place when this reaches Your Excellency or it happens soon after, my request is not to have an operation, but in such case it is my desire that the Assembling of the Militia should be hastened as much as possible.<sup>56</sup>

### **To PRESIDENT MESHECH WEARE**

Ramapough, June 30, 1780.

Sir: I send Brigadier General Starke to your state, to collect and forward the drafts for your batalions, and the levies for three months to the appointed place of rendezvous. The zeal, which the state of New Hampshire has always manifested gives me the fullest confidence that they have complied with the requisitions of the Committee of Congress in all their extent; though we have not yet heard from thence what measures have been taken. This is the time for America by one great exertion to put an end to the war; but for this purpose

56. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. From the text of the circular sent to Gov. Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, in the Connecticut State Library. The P. S. was added only to those circulars sent to New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

the necessary means must be furnished. The basis of every thing else is the completion of The Continental batalions to their full establishment. If this is not done, I think it my duty to forewarn every state, that nothing decisive can be attempted, and that this campaign like all the former must be chiefly defensive. I am sorry to observe, that some of the states have taken up the business on a less extensive scale. The consequences have been represented with candor and plainness, and I hope for the honor and safety of America the representation may have the weight it deserves.

The drafts cannot be forwarded with too much expedition; but as to the Militia, under present appearances, I think it adviseable to suspend the time fixed for their rendezvouzing to the 25th of next month, at which period I shall be glad they may be without fail at the place appointed; and it would be my wish, that they should come out under the command of General Starke.

I entreat Your Excellency to employ all your influence to give activity and vigor to the measures of your state. Every thing depends on the proper improvement of the present conjuncture; we have every thing to hope on one side and every thing to fear on the other. With perfect respect I have the honor etc.

P.S. The suspension of the period for assembling the Militia is founded on the French fleet not being arrived; if this event should have taken place before this reaches Your Excellency the suspension is not to have effect. The Militia cannot too soon [be] at the place of rendezvous after the Fleet arrives.<sup>57</sup>

[N.H.H.S.]

57. In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The word “be,” inadvertently omitted in the letter sent, was first written by Hamilton, in the draft, as “get to.”

## **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Colo. Deys, Bergen County, July 3, 1780.

Dear Sir: I have been informed, that the State of Connecticut have in possession a very considerable quantity of Salt petre, which they are unable to manufacture into Gun powder, for want of Sulphur. The Continent, on the contrary, have a quantity of Sulphur at Springfield which lies idle for want of the other necessary ingredients. I have therefore to propose to Your Excellency, that the Sulphur, or as much as may be necessary, shall be delivered over to the State, to be manufactured into Powder for the use of the Continent, the public making compensation for the same. When we come to make the Estimate of Ammunition necessary for the probable expenditure of our expected co-



operation, we find a most alarming deficiency in the public Magazines, and it therefore behoves us, to fall upon every expedient, to raise an adequate supply, and no one seems to present a fairer or readier prospect, than the plan I have just mentioned. If the measure meets Your Excellency's approbation, I shall be glad to be informed of the quantity of public Salt Petre in the State, and how much powder can be manufactured in a Week; or in any given time. You will also oblige me exceedingly by informing whether the State have any, and how much powder, and whether they could spare it to the Continent upon an emergency. I have the honor &c.<sup>67</sup>

67. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, near Passaic Falls, July 7, 1780.

Dear Sir: I am informed there are two Regiments of State Troops, amounting to six hundred men posted near Stanford, under the Command of Colo. Willis;<sup>97</sup> to which place Major Murnon<sup>98</sup> has been sent, for the purpose of cutting fascines, and will stand in need of every assistance, which can be afforded him: If your Excellency will give directions that such of these Troops, and of the Militia which may be occasionally there, and can possibly be spared from other duty; should be employed, in making these preparations, it will be a very acceptable and important service.

Should Major Murnon have made application personally to your Excellency, I doubt not the necessary orders are already given. If he has not, the pressing nature of the service is such, that I flatter myself, there will be no delay, in giving such instructions to the Commanding Officer, as will effectually promote the public interest in this respect. I have the honor etc.<sup>99</sup>

**To DAVID BREARLEY<sup>2</sup>**

Head Quarters, near Passaic Falls, July 7, 1780.

Dr Sir: I have to request that You will be so obliging

97. Probably Col. Levi Wells, of the First Connecticut State Regiment. The name, as written in this letter sent and in the draft, which is also by Humphreys, may be Willis, Welles, or Willet.

98. Maj. Jean Bernard de Murnans, of the Continental Engineers.

99. In the writing of David Humphreys. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

2. Chief Justice of New Jersey.

as to inform me by the earliest opportunity, at what time you accepted the appointment of Chief Justice of this State. My reason for this request is, a Board of General Officers have determined on a late occasion, that Several Officers in the Jersey line ought to take rank from that time, and that reference should be had to You to fix it. I have the Honor etc.<sup>3</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters near Passaick Falls, July 11, 1780.

Dr Sir: I beg leave to suggest to Your Excellency that it is a matter of great importance for me to be acquainted with our several Harbours, their depth of Water within and leading to them, and all the difficulties and circumstances attending their navigation. At present this knowledge is more peculiarly essential with respect to the Eastern Ports and particularly in the instance of New London. In the course of our operations this Campaign and indeed immediately, this may be of the greatest use. I have therefore to intreat the favor of Your Excellency to furnish me by the earliest opportunity, with a correct map of that Harbour, in case you have one, describing in a particular manner the Channel leading to it, from the Sound, with its depth and width and such obstacles and Shoals as may attend the navigation.

3. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

If your Excellency should not be in possession of a map that will answer, I request that you will be so obliging as to procure me one as soon as it can be done, and if it should be requisite, even by an actual survey and sounding. I feel myself under no difficulty in asking this favor of Your Excellency, as you will perceive at once the necessity there is for my possessing the information, and as I know there is nothing in your power which will not be done with the greatest cheerfulness that may in the least promote the Public cause. I have the honor etc.<sup>24</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, July 14, 1780.

Dr. Sir: There is expected a quantity of clothing, arms and amunition in the French fleet for the united States, which I have requested might be forwarded to New-London under convoy of a frigate or two. I shall send Mr. Olney<sup>49</sup> to receive it, and expedite it to the army. But as the Quarter Master General has no means in his power which could procure a sufficient number of waggons or teams in time, I beg leave to request your Excellency to interpose your authority to furnish them. We cannot commence our operations before we receive these articles, and with all the exertion that can be made they will scarcely

24. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

49. George Olney. He was auditor in the Quartermaster Department, and stationed at New London, Conn.

arrive in proper time so as not to delay us considerably. I therefore request your Excellency will have the goodness to give the matter a particular attention, that it may be conducted with all the dispatch the nature of the case will admit. I presume your Excellency will think an impress necessary to obtain the waggons or teams with the expedition the exigency requires, and will give your orders accordingly.

The succour of our generous ally being now arrived, I doubt not will give a new spring to our operations. Relying upon the zeal of the States I shall hazard arrangements with the officer commanding his Most Christian Majesty's troops for commencing our operations at a very early period. A regard to our national character obliges me to it, and I hope the same motive will stimulate the States, to exert their utmost activity to comply with those engagements which circumstances compel me to enter into in their behalf. The success of our measures not less than our honor demand it. With every sentiment of respect etc.

P.S. Mr. Olney goes directly to New-London, where I shall be happy, the person Your Excellency shall authorize to impress the waggons may meet him.<sup>50</sup>

50. In the writing of James McHenry. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

## **To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters, near Passaick Falls, July 18, 1780.

Sir: I had the honor a few days ago, to receive Your Excellency's Letter of the 2d Instant; and at the same time one from General Muhlenburg, inclosing the Return you had requested him to send me. I am exceedingly obliged to Your Excellency for your attention in this affair, and beg leave to refer You to the inclosed Copy of a letter addressed to Major General Gates if he should be at Fredericksburg or Richmond, and if not to General Muhlenburg for the Arrangement I have made, with respect to the Levies in contemplation to be raised by the State when You wrote, and of the Officers to command them. It is the best that has occurred to me, under a consideration of all circumstances, and I shall be happy if it meets your approbation. It is to be wished there were more Officers, but any new appointments except to Insignicies, would be considered as injurious, and would be the source of infinite complaints and confusion. I have entreated Genl Muhlenburg to whom I have written and thro him the whole of the Officers, to use every possible exertion to collect and discipline the Men and reminded them, that the charge of fitting a New Army or at least the Troops of a Whole State for the field, had devolved on them; and as these should act, so would

be their reputation. I hope they will avail themselves of the occasion to distinguish themselves, and will do all in their power

to qualify the Men for service. How the force will be applied I can't determine at present; but whether it shall be directed to either Object, this or the Southern Army or a part of both, the necessity for its being ready is equal and most pressing. It gives me great pleasure to find that the Men are to serve for Eighteen Months, and it would have been still more fortunate and more to our interest if they could have been obtained for the War. Short enlistments have subjected Us to such distresses, to such enormous expences, have so intimately hazarded our liberties that I never reflect upon them, but with a degree of horror. The consideration is the more painful now, from the unhappy state of our finances, and as at the close of the present year, All the Levies now raising under the most extravagant bounties, will disband, except Yours and those of Maryland. At this period we shall be again reduced and it may be within the compass of things for the States to suffer greater insults even, than those they experienced in the late incursion of the Enemy in Jersey.

I very sincerely congratulate Your Excellency on the arrival of the Armament from France. The fleet got into Rhode Island on the 11th. This very generous succour must fill every Friend to America with gratitude towards the Prince and Nation who have sent it, and I trust will be answered by correspondent exertions and the best of good Offices on our part. But I am also to inform Your Excellency, that Adml Greaves has since arrived (on the 13) off Sandy Hook, with Six Ships of the line. This is an unlucky incident and at present embarrassing; though it may not eventually be

injurious. I have the Honor etc.<sup>87</sup>

## **To THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL**

Head Quarters, near Passaick Falls, July 19, 1780.

Gentn: It unfortunately happens on a minute examination of Our Ordnance and Stores at the different Deposits, that we are by no means in so respectable a condition as to these, as it might be wished. A number of Heavy Cannon and Shot, Howitzers and Shells will be essential in addition

to those we have, for carrying on our operations with vigor and energy; and also a further quantity of powder. After considering the matter, your State appears the most likely and the Only One that can assist us in these instances to any great extent, particularly in the Articles of Cannon and Shot, Howitzers and Shells, and being fully convinced that it will be done with the greatest cheerfulness, if it is in their power, I have desired Genl Knox to form an Estimate of these four Articles and to transmit it to Your Honble Board. Powder, that is the quantity, will not be precisely mentioned by him, but it being equally material, I entreat that the Board will favor the Continent with a loan of the largest quantity they can spare, as well as of the Other Articles. They will be pleased to favor me with their answer with respect

87. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

to the several matters requested, by the earliest opportunity.

I am sorry to inform the Board that Admiral Greaves has arrived with Six Ships of the line off Sandy Hook. This is an unlucky incident and embarrassing at present; but it may eventually turn out otherwise. I have the Honor etc.

P.S. Besides the present application for powder, requisitions are going and have been already made to some Other States to spare all they possibly can. Your several dispatches of the 26th and 27th were duly received.<sup>65</sup>

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters, July 22, 1780.

Sir: Since I had the honor of writing to Your Excellency on the 18th, I have received a Letter from Genl Muhlenberg of the 11th inclosing a List of Sundry Officers (named below) belonging to Colo Gist's Regiment, who were omitted in his former Return and in consequence in the Arrangement intended for the present of the Drafts, which I forwarded to Your Excellency. These Officers do not properly belong to the Virginia line, but as the present formation of the Drafts is the result of

necessity and the service will be benefited by their having more Officers than those contained in the Arrangement transmitted; and as

65. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

it will give employment to these Gentlemen save the Continent at least the expence of employing as many as they amount to, and prevent complaints that would arise on any new appointments in the first instance and the difficulty there would be in disposing of them whenever the release of the Officers in captivity should make them unnecessary. For these reasons I beg leave to inform your Excellency, I have written to Genl Gates or in his absence to Genl Muhlenberg to incorporate these Officers of Gist's with the Others for the present, or to divide the drafts into another Regiment as may appear most eligible from a view of all circumstances and the number of Men actually collected and place them in it. I have the Honor etc.<sup>1</sup>

#### **To SAMUEL MEREDITH AND THOMAS BARCLAY**

Head Quarters, Bergen County, July 24, 1780.

Gentlemen: The Assemblage of the Militia and Recruits begins

1. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, who listed the following officers on the verso: Major [Nathaniel] Mitchell, [retired in January, 1781 ]; Captains John] Gist, [retired in January, 1781]; [Samuel] Lapsley; [Strother] Jones, [retired in January, 1781]; [Joseph] Smith, [retired in January, 1781]; [Thomas] Bell; [Francis] Muir, [retired in January, 1780]. Capt-Lieut., [William] Brownlee [retired in January, 1780]. Lieutenants [Robert] Kirk, [retired in January, 1781]; [William] Triplett, [retired in January, 1781] and Ensigns [David] Luckett, [to rank as lieutenant from April, 1780; transferred to the Third Maryland Regiment in January, 1781; retained in the Maryland battalion in April, 1783; and remained in command of a company at Fort Pitt until discharged in June, 1785]; John Nelson [ranked as lieutenant from July, 1779, and retired in January, 1781].

On this same day (July 22) Washington wrote practically this same letter to General Gates, giving the same directions and the same list of officers. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

to add greatly to our consumption of provision. I must therefore request you immediately to increase your supply of flour to the utmost of your power. You will be pleased to order it all in the first instance to this Camp, but as circumstances may require us to move, the teams are to be provided with forage to proceed as far as Kings ferry if necessary, and the drivers instructed on that head, that we may have no disputes with them after going forward. You will oblige me by letting me know, as soon as possible, what quantity of Flour you have at Trenton and at Philada. and how much per day you think you will have it in your power to transport, suppose as far as Kings Ferry. I am etc.

P.S. You will be pleased to inform the Directors of the Bank in Philad. how necessary it will be for them to extend their purchases of Flour immediately. We depend in a great measure upon Penna. until the Crops of Jersey and New York are fit for use.<sup>14</sup>

**To PRESIDENT MESHECH WEARE**

Head Quarters, July 26, 1780.

Sir: I have been honored with your favor of the 15th.

The particular and spirited exertions of the State of New Hampshire to fulfil the objects which we have in view cannot but meet

14. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

the warmest applause of every lover of their Country. It has mine in a very high degree, but not more than it has deserved.



I could wish the loan of powder to be forwarded, as soon as practicable, to Springfield, and lodged there in the public magazines. With regard to the supplies of Cattle, the bearer of this, carries full instructions from the commissary of purchases for their disposal. I have the honor etc.<sup>31</sup>

[N. H. H. S.]

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE**

Head Quarters, Bergen County, July 26, 1780.

Sir: I have been honored with your Excellency's favor of the 10th inclosing Copies of the several laws passed by the Legislature of your State, for procuring the supplies of Men, provisions and Carriages required by the Honble. the Committee of Cooperation in conjunction with me. The readiness with which those laws were passed, and the pointed attention which your Excellency seems determined to pay to the due execution of them are happy presages that they will be speedily and fully carried into effect. I have the honor etc.<sup>34</sup>

[MD.H.S.]

31. In the writing of James McHenry.

34. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

**To MRS. THEODOSIA FORD**

Head Quarters, July 26, 1780.

Madam: I have received your favour by Captn. Pry.<sup>49</sup> I communicated its contents to His Excellency and am directed to transmit you the inclosed certificate. I have the honour &c.<sup>50</sup>

I certify that the Commander in Chief took up his quarters at Mrs. Fords at Morris Town the first day of December 1779, that he left them the 23d of June 1780, and that he occupied two Rooms below; all the upper floor, Kitchen, Cellar and Stable. The Stable was built and the two Rooms above Stairs finished at the public expence, and a well, which was intirely useless and filled up before, put in thorough repair by walling &c. Head Qrs. near Passaick July 26th. 1780.<sup>51</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Bergen County, July 27, 1780.

Dear Sir: I have the honor of Your Excellency's favors of the 18th and 19th instants. Colo Wadsworth has forwarded the Map of New London which you were so kind as to furnish. It answers the purpose for which I principally wanted it, which was to shew the draft of Water leading into the Harbour. I very much fear that

49. Capt. Thomas(?) Pry, of the Second Canadian Regiment.

50. The draft is in the writing of and is signed "R. K. Meade, A.D. C."

51. The text is from the Varick Transcripts in the Library of Congress, and the certificate was signed by R. K. Meade, A.D. C.

we shall be obliged to transport our Cloathing from France the whole way from Rhode Island by land, as it is much wanted, and as there will be no prospect of doing it by Water while the British Fleet maintains a superiority off the Harbour of New Port. I have written to Mr. Olney to this effect, and must request Your Excellency's aid and assistance to him in transporting it through your State, should he find himself under the necessity of asking it. You may be assured that the Troops of Connecticut shall have their full proportion of the Cloathing imported on Continental account.

Should the Navigation be secure I make not the least doubt but the Count De Rochambeau will prefer a Water transportation for a certain distance to a march by land. But should circumstances or

his own inclinations make the latter necessary, I should hope that every exertion would be made to accommodate him in every respect.

It would certainly be a very desirable thing to remove the cattle from the East end of Long Island, but in the present situation of matters it cannot be attempted. I have the honor etc.<sup>56</sup>

**To PRESIDENT CAESAR RODNEY**

Head Quarters, Bergen County, July 27, 1780.

Sir: I imagine before this reaches your Excellency,

56. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

the Militia of the State of Delaware, required by the Committee of Cooperation, will have assembled at Wilmington, the place of rendezvous. You will be pleased to give orders to the Officer commanding them, to march and join the Army under my command wherever it may be. I am &c.

**To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

General Howes Quarters, Robinsons,<sup>72</sup> July 30, 1780.

Dear Sir: If our circumstances on a close examination will permit, we have in contemplation a very important enterprise in which Your Excellency's advice and assistance will be of the greatest utility to us. I am therefore to entreat if possible an immediate interview at this place or Ver Planks point. Should we pursue our object, it must be done with the greatest rapidity, and this makes it necessary I should have the pleasure of seeing you without delay. I have the honor etc.

P.S. It is probable we shall stand in need of a considerable aid of waggons.<sup>73</sup>

72. Beverley Robinson's house.

73. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

**To PRESIDENT JAMES BOWDOIN**

Head Quarters, Peekskill, August 1, 1780.

Dr Sir: I had not the honor of receiving your favor of the 12th: ulto. until the 28th: upon my march from Jersey to this place, at which I am collecting our force to move down towards New York, in hopes of taking an advantage of the absence of Sir Henry Clinton with the greater part of his force.

I am much obliged by the information you give me of the quantity of Powder which may be obtained in Massachusetts. You will be good enough to secure every ounce within your power. Should any accident happen, by which the Continent will not have occasion for it, it will be always a valuable acquisition to the State.

The Board of War having been lately furnished by Congress with the means of making a very large purchase of Military Stores will undoubtedly direct their Agent in Boston to secure what powder may be obtained there; but I think it would be well for the State instantly to engage the 15 Tons in the hands of the Merchants if they dispose of it again to the Continent.

I have directed Genl. Glover who is at Springfield to receive the Levies to make report to the State of any deficiencies, remarking the districts to which they belong.

Your assurances of aid to the utmost of the requisitions made upon the State cannot but be highly agreeable to me. I have the honor etc.<sup>89</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Peekskill, August 1, 1780.

Dear Sir: I am assembling our whole Continental Force at this place with an intent to move down towards New York, in hopes, that an opportunity may offer in the absence of Sir Henry Clinton of striking the Enemy to advantage or at least of gaining possession of some posts which will be of very great advantage in carrying on our future operations. I have taken the liberty to order the two State Regiments under Colo Wells and Beebe<sup>90</sup> to join me, and have written to the Officer commanding the Militia assembled at Danbury to come forward. I shall be much obliged to your Excellency to give directions to the Militia detained upon Connecticut River for the purpose of cutting Fascines, to quit that business and march as expeditiously as possible to join the Army. Should we be so lucky as to gain any advantageous posts it may require an additional force to keep them untill our Allies are in condition to form a junction with us. You will therefore be pleased to order two thousand of your Western Militia, in addition to the number already voted, to hold themselves in readiness to move upon my requisition, and I shall be obliged to you for the names of the

89. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

90. Lieut. Cols. Levi Wells and Bezaleel Beebe. They were commandants of the First and Second Connecticut State Regiments, respectively.

Officers to whom I am to apply, should there be occasion, that not a moments time may be lost. If Sir Henry Clinton should continue to prosecute his enterprise against the Fleet and Army of our Ally at Rhode Island, it may afford us an opportunity of striking a decisive stroke at New York, a thing of all others to be desired. I have the honor &c.

P.S. I received your Excellency's letter of the 24th on my march to this place.<sup>91</sup>

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Peekskill, August 1, 1780.

Dr Sir: From our present advices a considerable part of the Enemy's force are gone to Rhode Island with a view of reducing the Armament from France. We can give them no succour from hence by detaching, on account of the distance and the difficulty there would be, if not impracticability, of subsisting the Troops with bread. There is no other mode which promises them relief, so far as it may depend on us, but our moving against New York immediately and acting against it with rapidity and vigor, as far as circumstances will admit. For this end the whole of the Continental Troops are in motion and as every aid will be essential, I entreat that Your Excellency will order your State Regiment and

91. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

the Militia called for by the Committee of Congress, to march as soon as possible for Dobbs's ferry, subject to my direction where the Officers will receive further orders. I would also beg leave to suggest, that I think it advisable that Your Excellency should order the whole of the Militia to hold themselves in readiness to march in case of Orders, as events may arise to make their aid highly essential and important for a few days. It will not be called for but in this case, and I have the utmost confidence that they will give me support whenever it may be requisite.

I am much concerned that so few Levies have joined the Regiments belonging to the State. They amount but to a mere handful. I pray that your Excellency will use your best endeavours to have them forwarded with all possible expedition. The service and our most essential interests require it. I have the Honor etc.

P.S. Besides writing to Your Excellency I have written a Line to the Commanding Officer at Morris Town to forward on the Militia required by the Committee to Dobbs's ferry.<sup>92</sup>

**To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Peekskill, August 1, 1780.

Sir: I beg leave to inform Your Excellency, that the

92. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

exigency of the service makes it necessary for me to call the German Battallion from Sunbury to join this Army, and that I must imbrace the earliest opportunity to transmit an Order for the purpose. I have thought it proper to communicate this to Your Excellency, that You may, if You deem it essential, supply its place, by incorporating and ordering a number of Your Militia to act in that Quarter. Had the requisition of the Honble the Committee of Congress to the State for Men to fill her Battallions, been even nearly complied with, and which I thought as they did, the public interest required, I should have foregone the advantages which would have been derived from the service of this Corps and continued it as its present station; but this not having been the case, I am compelled to avail myself of its aid. I have the Honor etc.<sup>95</sup>

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE**

Head Quarters, Peek's Kill, August 3, 1780.

Sir: I have been honoured with Your Excellency's Letter of the 24th Ulto. and for the reasons You mention, the postponing the march of the Militia was proper, especially when we take in view the appearances there were of the Enemys making an expedition with a great part of their land force, against our allies. These however are now at an end, by their returning to New York. But as the

95. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Enemys Fleet still remain off Rhode Island, it may perhaps be thought eligible for them not to move for the present. I have therefore written to Genl Heath on the subject, as well as about Colo Greene's Regiment and the Levies, and requested him to consult the Count, and to communicate the result with respect to the Militia, to Your Excellency, by which You will be pleased to regulate yourself as to their coming on or remaining longer. If the Latter should be the result of their communication, I am then to entreat that they must be held in such a state of readiness, as to be able to proceed on

the shortest notice after a requisition by me, or when the Count is about to move with his Troops, or shall signify that he does not consider their further detention necessary.

I have the honor to inclose Your Excellency a Copy of a proclamation, offering pardon to the Deserters from Your Two Regiments in Continental service &c.<sup>13</sup> This I should have transmitted sooner but have been prevented by a variety of pressing business and by our being a good deal in a moving state. Your Excellency, if you think proper will commit it to the printer for publication. I have the Honor etc.<sup>14</sup>

**To SAMUEL LOUDON<sup>38</sup>**

August 5, 1780.

Certain intelligence having been received that Sir Henry

13. A contemporary copy of the Rhode Island General Assembly resolve "July Session," requesting a pardon for deserters has a note thereon by Robert Hanson Harrison: "Procla. issued the 3 of Augt." This resolve is in the *Washington Papers*. No draft of this August 3 proclamation is found in the *Washington Papers*, but presumably the same text was issued as that of the pardon for deserters proclamation for Massachusetts. (See footnote to Washington's letter to President Jeremiah Powell, May 31, 1780, *ante*.)

14. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

38. Publisher of *The New York Packet* at Fishkill, N.Y.; later postmaster to the main Army.

Clinton had embarked the principal part of his force, and had proceeded to Huntington bay on his way to Rhode Island to make a combined attack upon the fleet and army of our allies now there. His Excellency. General Washington marched from his camp at Prackness the 29 of July and crossed the North River the 31st; where a junction was formed with the troops under the command of Major General Howe. His Excellency had resolved in case the enemy should continue their course to



Rhode Island to march immediately to New York and attack it. All the necessary preparations were made for this purpose, when intelligence arrived that the enemy had put back the 31st. Ultio. It is to be regretted that they did not go on with their intended expedition, as our allies were well prepared to receive them and they could have met with nothing but disgrace and defeat in that quarter; while in this we had every reason to expect from the number and spirit of our troops the most decisive and glorious success. Sir Henry no doubt relinquished his project in consequence of this movement of our army; and it must be confessed that he abandoned it with much more prudence than he undertook it. The object for which the army crossed the river having ceased, the whole recrossed the 4th instant and are marching towards Dobbes ferry, in prosecution of the original plan formed for the campaign.<sup>39</sup>

39. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The text was to be published as news.

In Sir Henry Clinton's "Narrative of...cooperations with...Arbuthnot," he say that not having received "the smallest promise of active cooperation on the side of the navy. I thought it would be imprudent under these circumstances to remain in the open Bay of Huntingdon, where the transports might be exposed to danger, from hard gales of wind, and other casualties, and therefore concluded it would be best to return to White Stone, where the troops would be more at hand to frustrate any design of Mr. Washington, (who was then crossing to the East Side of the Hudson) and equally ready to attend the Admiral's call, should he, from better intelligence, or more accurate observation, judge that anything of moment could be attempted." Clinton also reported that Arbuthnot sailed from Gardiner's Bay before he arrived "agreeable to his (Arbothnot's) appointment." Brig. Gen. William Dalrymple's account of an interview with Arbuthnot on August 19 was that the admiral had various objections to each of Clinton's suggestions and concluded by saying "Nothing could be done, nor was there ever any prospect of it, unless Sir Henry Clinton had an army of 18 or 20,000 men to form a regular siege."

**To MISS MARY DAGWORTHY<sup>55</sup>**

Head Quarters, August 6, 1780.

Some time since I was honored with your letter of the 17th July, with a sum of money the result of your subscriptions at that time. So much patriotism, while it is a pleasing and fresh proof of the spirit of the ladies of Jersey, entitles them to every applause. The army feel most sensibly both the design and the benefaction.

I have to request the ladies, that till it is known in what manner the Philada. subscriptions are to be applied, that they will suspend sending forward any more, or rather that if it is their pleasure, that they will consult Mrs. President Reed on the occasion, and unite their subscriptions with those of Philada. I have the honor &c.<sup>56</sup>

**To PRESIDENT JAMES BOWDOIN**

Head Quarters, Orange Town, August 8, 1780.

Sir: I am honored with yours of the 31st ulto. The measure of ordering the three Months Militia to repair to Rhode Island upon the expectation of the British Army was certainly right, but as the force which was embarked on the sound has returned again

55. Of Trenton, N.J.

56. The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

to New York, I imagine the Count De Rochambeau will not think them longer necessary and that they will be ordered to proceed to the North River. The French Admiral will spare us as much powder as he possibly can, but as he did not come out provided to answer any extra demand we cannot expect much from him. I am much obliged by the loan of Muskets and Cartouch Boxes. Tho' they fall short of the requisition, yet as they are all which could be procured, the State is as much intitled to thanks, as if it had been in their power to have supplied the whole. I have the honor etc.<sup>58</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters near Orange Town, August 8, 1780.

Dear Sir: I am honored with Your Excellency's favor of the 4th Inst. I am sorry that any disputes and differences should have happened between Major Murnan and the Inhabitants and Militia. As it is difficult to reconcile matters after they have been carried to such a height as appears by Capt. Greens deposition<sup>59</sup> I have thought it best to recall Major Murnan. You will be pleased to forward the inclosed to him, which is for that purpose.

Your Excellency will, I presume, before the

58. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

59. Major Murnans protested the withdrawal of the militia who were making gabions and fascines, when they were ordered to march to Rhode Island. Capt. John Green's deposition was to the effect that Murnans wounded a serjeant over a row as to the meat ration issue, Green was a captain in Col. Hezekiah Wyllys's Connecticut Militia regiment.

receipt of this, have heard that General Clinton with the Fleet and Troops which had been at Huntington returned on the 31st ulto. to New York. Should the Militia in consequence of this, return to their former station on Connecticut River, you will be pleased to direct them to proceed in making Fascines and Gabions. I have the honor etc.<sup>60</sup>

**\*To MRS. ESTHER REED**

Head Quarters, Tappan, August 10, 1780.

Madam: I have the honor to thank you for your favor of the 31st. Ultio.

It was not my intention to divert the benevolent donation of the Ladies from the channel they wished it to flow in. I gave my opinion in consequence of their request, but I shall be equally ready to subscribe to theirs, and will execute their commands in the manner most agreeable to themselves. At the same time, I have my apprehensions (from the peculiar circumstances of our Army) that a taste of hard money may be productive of much discontent as we have none but depreciated paper for their pay.

A few provident Soldiers will, probably, avail themselves of the advantages which may result from the generous

60. In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

bounty of two dollars in Specie, but it is equally probable that it will be the means of bringing punishment on a number of others whose inclination [propensity] to drink[ing] overcoming all other considerations too frequently leads them into irregularities and disorders which must be corrected.

A Shirt would, render the condition of the [Soldiery in general much] more comfortable than it is at prest. No prospect of public supplies, in any degree adequate to our wants, are yet opened to my view. The provision made or making for the Troops of Pensylva.; and the late importation from France is small in comparison of our aggregate call, and affords a melancholy prospect of continued sufferings.<sup>75</sup> I have the honr. etc.<sup>76</sup>

**To JOHN HARING<sup>81</sup>**

Head Quarters, Orange Town, August 11, 1780.

Sir: I am pained at the contents of your letter of this date.<sup>82</sup> It has always been my endeavour as much as in my power to prevent the troops from committing depredations of any kind whatsoever on the inhabitants. That there should be cause of complaint from the well-affected is an additional aggravation.

75. “The Ladies had not the most distant wish, that their Donation shou'd be bestow'd in any manner, that did not perfectly accord with your Opinion.”— *Esther Reed to Washington*, Aug. 16, 1780.

76. The original is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The words in brackets show Alexander Hamilton's efforts to improve on Washington's diction.

81. Judge of Orange County, N.Y.

82. The letter from Judge Hating stated that the inhabitants were alarmed and filled with apprehensions of “being brought to a Starving condition. Fences are wantonly destroyed and consequently Cornfields, Buckwheat, Orchards, meadows &c. &c. are laid waste, and we know not where it will end.” Haring's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

You may be assured that the most pointed orders have been issued to the army on this subject since we came on this ground, and the strongest recommendations used to the officers that they may be carried into execution. I flatter myself that these will have the good effect which you desire, and which it is intended they should produce. I am &c.

## **To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters, Orange Town, August 14, 1780.

Sir: I have been honoured with Your Excellys. favour of the 22 of July and with its inclosure. With respect to appointing Officers for the Levies, Your Excellency I presume will have received before this, my Letters of the 18 and 22 Ulto, and by which You would find that I had arranged the matter, as far as the circumstances I was possessed of would admit, in consequence of your former application. But as the Officers of the and 2 State Regiments were not included and they are complete, or nearly so, in their number, and your Excellency has determined that these Corps shall march to the Southward, I see no objection to their receiving a proportion of the Levies, and the less so, as it will make the Officers of the Other Regiments, who are too few, more competent to

their commands. I shall write a line to this effect to Genl. Muhlenberg to day. The Levies, I find by a Copy of a Resolution

of Congress of the 5th Inst. are to join the Southern Army. It is certainly much more for the public interest that these Men are to serve till Decr. 1781, than for any shorter term, and I most earnestly wish, because I am certain the interest, if not the absolute safety and existence of America demands it, that the States would at once attempt to raise a sufficient number of Levies for the War. The expence in the first instance would be very little greater than the enormous bounties now paid for a few months service, and in the end it would be found to be by far the most æconomical plan, both as to money and as to Men. To our Army's being levied on a short and temporary footing, the War has been protacted already to a period, to which I am doubtful whether it would ever have otherwise extended; to this we may ascribe near all our other misfortunes and present embarrassments, and to this the loss of our liberties and Independence, if the fatal event should take place. This system of politics has brought us very low indeed, and had we not been held up by providence and a powerful Ally, we must have submitted before this to the Yoke of bondage. A perseverance in the system may yet effect it. I beg Your Excellency to pardon this digression, which the misfortunes we have suffered and the difficulties that now surround us have led me as it were to make involuntarily. I am happy to learn by Genl. Muhlenburg that several of our Troops have escaped from Charles Town, both as it releases them from Captivity, and as it adds men of service and tried courage, without giving an equivalent for them, to our remaining force. The General mentions that he has heard 200 have

returned, which I consider as a valuable acquisition; but he adds that Many of them tho' they were engaged for the War, conceive themselves discharged by reason of their captivity and escape and have gone to their homes. It is astonishing that they should have taken up such an idea, and I have directed him to pursue the most effectual measures to collect them. It is very unfortunate that the Navigation of the Bay should be so interrupted and destroyed, and as I imagine that the Enemy's frigates are now drawn from thence, I would hope that means will have been found to drive away

the smaller pickerooning craft. Their continuing must be attended with great public inconvenience at least, and be highly prejudicial to the trade of Virginia and Maryland.

I informed Your Excellency of the arrival of the Armament from France, and also of Admiral Greaves's with six ships of the line on the part of the British. These added to the Ships the Enemy had before, give them a decided superiority at present over the French Squadron under the Chevr de Ternay, and keep it blocked up at Rhode Island. We expect a reinforcement to the latter, and hope it will be such as to turn the scale of superiority and that it will arrive before it is long and effect a junction, as upon the event our prospects and extensive operations must depend should we be even so fortunate as to get matters in good train on our own part. I have the Honor etc.

P.S. From the information I have received that there are many Deserters in the State; and also that many Soldiers who have been captured in the course of the War, and escaped from the Enemy, have gone to their homes and consider themselves as discharged from service. I have been induced to issue the inclosed proclamation which I request the favor of Your Excellency to have published in the News Papers.<sup>10</sup>

**To JOHN NIXON AND GEORGE CLYMER<sup>13</sup>**

Head Quarters, Orange town, August 14, 1780.

Gentlemen: I have been honored with yours without date.<sup>14</sup> I am much obliged not only by the candid manner in which you have laid before me the State of the Bank, but by your assurances of using every possible exertion to afford a Supply of Bread to the Army, as far as your circumstances will admit. Of this although I do not entertain a doubt, I cannot help expressing my apprehensions that we shall be under the necessity of placing our dependance upon you for the principal part of our support in the Article of Flour, at least untill the Crops of Maryland, New Jersey and New York are got in and are fit to grind. From this consideration, I shall be glad to be informed, with as much precision as the nature of the case will admit, what quantity of Flour I may depend upon from the

Bank, (delivered at the Army at or near this place) from this time to the 1st. of October, I shall, by adding

10. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. (See Washington's letter to Gov. Thomas Jefferson, Aug. 29, 1780, *post.*)

13. Directors of the Pennsylvania Bank.

14. The letter from Nixon and Clymer, without dated, as in the *Washington Papers*, as the end of August. It stated: "The ground work [of the Bank] was a deposit of money arising from subscription; this subscription is about eleven hundred thousand pounds continental currency of which we are now in the receipt of two payments of ten percent each; but on what we principally acted was that convenience, the trading people would find in lodging their money in the bank, taking our notes payable on demand, by which, as the notes might be expected to have a free and continued circulation, we should have the command of a vast fund for our purchases. From these two sources of supply we have as yet drawn but about four hundred thousand pounds with a well grounded confidence however, that the production of the latter will be proportionably greater, the longer it remains open...it will be proper to consider the bank rather as coming in aid of the ordinary means of supply, than as being in itself equal to any effect without them...but 'tho we cannot venture to say what degree of support this establishment may receive from the publick. we can assure your Excellency that there is the best disposition in all those who shall have the conduct if it, to extend its means and make it as extensively useful as possible."

this to our other resources, be enabled to form an estimate of the number of Men I may draw together with a probability of finding subsistence for them. For want of this knowledge, I am obliged to keep my force disjointed, by which there is upon the whole a greater consumption, than when an Army is regularly formed, besides a number of inconveniencies and expences attending the keeping up a multiplicity of detached posts. I have the honor etc.<sup>15</sup>

**To CAPTAIN BENJAMIN EDGAR JOEL<sup>11</sup>**



Head Quarters, Orange Town, August 14, 1780.

Sir: I am to acknowledge the receipt of your two Letters of the 21st. Ulto. and the 8th. Instant to the subject of which I have not been able to attend untill the present hour.

Whatever favourable opinion I might entertain of your military abilities and knowledge in your profession or however I might be disposed to foster and cherish Genius and Merit wherever they are discovered; circumstanced as you are; I should not think myself warranted to give you an employment in the Army under my Command.

Altho I do not conceive it expedient, from a variety of considerations which must occur to every one, for you to engage in the service of the United States; yet I have given directions to

15. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

11. Formerly in the British Army.

the Board of War for your immediate liberation from the restraint of which you complain. I am etc.<sup>12</sup>

## **To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Orange Town, August 17, 1780.

Dear Sir: I have recd. your Excellency's favor. of the 4th: Inst. As soon as I found that Sir Henry Clintons return from the Eastward had frustrated the enterprise which I had in contemplation, I directed Colo. Seely to return to Morristown with the Militia and wrote to the Commanding Officer of the State detachment in Monmouth to remain there. By a return from Colo. Seely of the 10th. Inst. his numbers only amounted to 443 and by a return of the same date from the commanding Officer of the Jersey Brigade only 159 Recruits had then joined, and I hear of none since. These deficiencies especially in the last, are so great, and operate so seriously upon our plans, that I am

obliged to represent to your Excellency the absolute necessity of calling upon the proper Officers in the respective Counties to know how far they have succeeded in procuring the quotas allotted to them; how many Men they have sent forward and whether they have any, or what prospects of obtaining the remainder. I advert more particularly to the Levies for the Continental Battalions. Your Excellency must be sensible

12. The draft is in the writing of David Humphreys.

that unless the number of Men demanded by the Committee of Cooperation in conjunction with me can be brought into the field, any attempt against the Enemy in New York must be fruitless and attended not only with disgrace but with an immense accumulation of expence. Our Calculations were founded upon a pretty exact knowledge of the strength of the Garrison, and I do assure you, our regulations were as moderate as circumstances would possibly admit. Should our continental Battalions remain uncompleted, the consequence will be, that we must either totally abandon an enterprise upon which the hopes of the States and the expectations of our Allies are fixed, or we must make up the deficiency by an increased demand of Militia. How distressing this will be to the people, how incompetent to the end and how destructive to our slender magazines of every kind, your Excellency can as well conceive as I can describe.

I am persuaded I need not make use of further arguments to induce an exertion to collect and send forward all the Men actually raised under the late law, and if that should be found incompetent to the end of obliging those Counties which are still deficient to provide their quotas, to fall, without loss of time, upon some more effectual measures for that purpose. I have the honor &c.

P.S. I have just recd. advice from Newport that the greater part of the fleet of Victuallers and Merchant men bound from England to Quebec had been taken by the Eastern privateers. Sixteen of the prizes had

arrived in the different ports. 6 levies only have joined since the return of the 10th. I have appointed the 1st. Septr. for the trial of Moody<sup>33</sup> at this place. If your Excellency knows of any material evidences agt. him, be pleased to direct them to attend.<sup>34</sup>

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, Orange Town, August 20, 1780.

Dear Sir: I have been honor'd with your Excellency's Letter of the 17th Inst respecting the Troops under the command of Colo Seely at Morris Town.

It was not untill the rect of this, that I was made acquainted with the mode in which the Militia of Your State were to be called forth. And as the time for which the first Class was detached, is so far elapsed, that there is little probability of their being necessary with the Main Army before their service will expire, I should therefore think it adviseable to discharge all of them, except about 100 which may be retained to Guard the Stores and Similar purposes.

In the mean time I could wish Your Excellency would give the most pointed Orders for the Next Class, which was to relieve Colo Seely's Command: to be ready by the first of Septr to take the field if called upon. This if punctually complied with, would answer all the purposes in view and prevent the consumption

33. Lieut. James Moody, of the First Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers, British provincial troops.

34. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

of more provisions than is absolutely necessary. I have the honor etc.<sup>47</sup>

**To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Head Quarters, Orange Town, August 20, 1780.

Dear Sir: I had this morning the honor of yours of the 17th: from Trenton. When I ordered the Militia of Pennsylvania to assemble at their place of rendezvous, I was in hopes that our supply of provisions would have been adequate to their subsistence with the Army; But [from repeated, and lately a pointed representation from the Commissary Genl.] I find myself very unfortunately disappointed. I can, with every exertion, scarcely keep the Army in this Camp (entirely Continental) fed from day to day. In this situation it will be only adding to our distress to bring forward the Men under your Excellency's command; to halt them any where between this and Delaware, would be in fact the same thing, and altho' ordering them back to their Counties may be attended with some inconveniences and delays hereafter, yet necessity constrains me to do it in some measure. I would wish you immediately to send orders to those of the remoter Counties who have not joined you, to return for the present, but to hold themselves in readiness to move again upon the shortest notice. Should you

47. The draft is in the writing of David Humphreys.

be of opinion that those of Philada. and the neighbouring Counties who are already embodied and under your command could take a position in the County of Bucks where they could be subsisted without interfering with the supplies coming on for the Army, I should prefer it to disbanding them, [for to be candid I fear so much time will be lost in getting them out again after the 2d. division of French Troops and Ships (hourly expected) arrive, that the Season for action will have glided away and we on that acct shall be unable to prosecute the intended operation.] But should your Excellency be of opinion that they may return home and be collected again in the course of a few days when wanted, I shall have no objections. The Delaware Militia being but a handful of Men, and those armed and accoutred by the public, I have thought it better to order them forward, than, by countermanding them, run the risque of losing the public stores which they have drawn. I am infinitely obliged to you for providing your people with Camp Equipage, as it would not have been in my power to have furnished them with a sufficient quantity, if with any at all.

It is a most mortifying reflexion that we should not at this advanced period of the Campaign have Magazines of provision for even one half the men necessary for our intended operations. I can only

hope that this is owing to the new Crop not having yet come into use, and that by the time of the arrival of the 2d. division, upon which the commencement of our operations will depend, we shall be in a situation to draw a head of Men together.

I have every assurance from the French Land and Sea Commanders that the second division may, without some very unexpected accident, be daily expected. Should we upon the arrival of this reinforcement be found, after all our promises of a cooperating force, deficient in Men, provision, and every other essential, Your Excellency can easily conceive what will be the opinion of our Allies, and of all the World, and what will be the consequences in the deranged, distracted State of our Affairs; And that we shall be found in this situation, unless the most vigorous exertions are made by the several States to send in those supplies which are demanded of them, I am as well convinced as I am of any one thing in nature.

Let me conjure you then my Dear Sir to make the proper use of every moment of the time which we have yet left. The fairest prospects are held out to us, and if we do not embrace the opportunity which now presents itself, and which is certainly within our reach, if we will make use of the means in our power, can we expect ever to have the offer repeated? I have the honor &c.

P.S. I duly recd. your Excellency's favr. of the 3d. and 7th.<sup>46</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Orange Town, August 22, 1780.

Dr Sir: I am again reduced to the painful necessity

46. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

of informing Your Excellency, of the situation in which we are, with respect to provision of the meat kind; and of earnestly entreating every assistance in your power to give, for our relief. The whole Army has been already without meat one day, and a great part of it Two. We have none now

in Camp, and no good prospect that I can find, of receiving any within a reasonable time. The most we can hope for, from any resources within our own command, are Sixty barrels of Salt meat on the way from West point, which post is now almost entirely degarnished and cannot have by the last Return, more than a Hundred and Twenty Barrels at most in Store. Your Excellency, from this state of matters will but too sensibly feel for our alarming situation, and the more so when you reflect we are in a Country that did not afford much meat at any time, and that it has been exhausted by the Armies on both sides to the extreme distress of it's Inhabitants. Our condition at any period would be painful and highly injurious to the public service, but to be in a starving situation at the commencement of the Campaign, before our operations have even begun, is peculiarly so; must be discouraging in the extreme to our New Levies, who now compose half our Army, and must blast and put an end to all our prospects, if we are not relieved from it, tho in every other respect events should arise bidding fair for success. I will not attempt to detail the consequences to which this would lead, nor the ideas and apprehensions it would excite in our Allies and Friends abroad, nor the confidence the Enemy would derive from it. These will but too readily occur to Your Excellency

and I am sure You will believe with me, that our friends would be greatly alarmed and embarrassed at least, at the circumstance, while the cry of the Enemy would be, we will persevere in the War. America cannot maintain even a small Army, for our present one cannot be ranked under any other appellation; or what will be equally encouraging to them, but more disgraceful to us, they will say their boasted patriotism is gone, or their wisdom and energy, for tho' their resources for War still remain, they will not bring them into action. I am now arranging matters to make a forage on this impoverished people, having no other alternative left me, from which I could draw the least possible relief, and even from this, tho it will ruin them, I expect to derive the most trifling succour. I rely on that goodness and promptitude I have ever found in Your Excellency to promote the public service, and am persuaded you will exert all your influence to give us relief, on the present important and alarming occasion. I have the honor etc.<sup>78</sup>

**To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON**

Head Quarters, near the Liberty Pole, Bergen County, August 26, 1780.

Dear Sir: In mine of the 20th: instant I desired your Excellency to discharge the whole of Colo. Seely's Militia except about 100 for the

78. In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

purpose of a guard at Morris Town and to direct the September Class to hold themselves in readiness to come out upon the shortest notice. I would only wish you to continue those orders, but not call out the Classes, except about one hundred Men for the purposes above mentioned, untill you hear from me. Our extreme distress for want of provision makes me desirous of lessening the consumption as much as possible. Some Brigades of the Army have been now five days without Meat. To endeavour to relieve their wants by stripping the lower parts of the County of its Cattle, I moved two days ago to this place and yesterday completely foraged Barbadoes and Bergen Necks; scarcely any Cattle were found but Milch Cows and Calves of one and two years old and even those in no great plenty; when this scanty pittance is consumed, I know not to what quarter to look, as our prospects from the Eastward, upon which our principal dependance is placed, are far from being favourable. The monthly requisition of Meat from the State of Jersey has been complied with in a very small degree, as the Commy. General informs me that he has received but 7 Cattle from Mr. Dunham the superintendent since the month of April. I am very far from complaining of the general exertions of the State, on the contrary I have every reason to acknowledge them upon several pressing occasions: but your Excellency must be sensible that when the support of an Army is made to depend upon certain quantities of provision to be furnished regularly by the different States, the failure of any one, must be more or less felt. I have the honor etc.

P.S. I have recd. yr. Excellency's favs. of the 21st: and 23d. I do not imagine it will be possible to discover the officer who permitted Heyden<sup>97</sup> to escape, as the description is so exceedingly vague. As Money does not appear, from the deposition, to have had any operation, I am led to believe that the thing has happened more from a want of proper knowledge of duty than from any design.<sup>98</sup>

## To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED

Head Quarters, near the Liberty Pole, Bergen County, August 26, 1780.

Dr. Sir: I was last evening favd. with yours of the 22d. and the day before with that of the 21st. I should have concurred with your Excellency in the propriety of keeping the Militia embodied for the reasons and under the circumstances you mention, had I not last night received dispatches from Count Rochambeau, from which I think it more than probable that the 2d. division will not arrive before the expiration of the tour of duty of the present Class; to keep them out, therefore, will only be an accumulation of expence, and a needless detention of many of them from their families and occupations. The Alliance Frigate is arrived at Boston from L'Orient, which place she must have left about the 10th July. The 2d. division was then blocked up in Brest by the English Fleet. A superior French and Spanish Fleet had sailed from Cadiz with an intention of opening the port, should they succeed in the attempt, we may reasonably suppose that the 2d. division

97. Richard Hayden, His deposition is filed in the *Washington Papers* with Governor Livingston's letter to Washington of Aug. 23, 1780.

98. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. As printed in *Selections from the Correspondence of the Executive of New Jersey* (Newark: 1848), p. 255, the following sentence is added to the P. S.: "I am sorry to hear of your Excellency's indisposition."

would not sail before Augt: which (with a good passage) will make it October before they arrive upon this Coast. I should hope that between the time of the arrival of the second division and that of serious operations, the requisite number of Militia may be drawn out, especially as it will be at a more favorable season for the people in general, who will by that time have put in their Winter Grain.

I am extremely sorry that the dispositions of the people or our own circumstances should render the intervention of military force necessary, but such is our present situation and so discouraging are our prospects in the Article of meat that I very much fear we shall be obliged to make use of our



whole Cavalry for the purposes of collecting the small remains of Cattle (in fact unfit for slaughter) from this exhausted Country. Colo. Moylans Regt. is small and much worn down; Sheldons is covering the Country on the east Side of the River, and Major Lees Corps is the only one upon which we can place dependance either for military operations, to collect supplies in the adjacent Country, or to impress teams for the transportation of provision and stores from the Delaware: for such is the deranged State of the Quarter Master's department, that little is to be expected from the means within his power. I speak more particularly of what is past, not having yet experienced the effects of the new appointment. From the above your Excellency will judge how inconvenient it will be to detach Major Lee or any Corps so far from the Army as you seem to require. From the favorable complexion of yours of the 21<sup>st</sup>: I am in hopes, that altho' there may be a backwardness

in some particular sects to part with their produce, yet their may be upon the whole, a considerable collection made; but should you upon further trial find a military force absolutely necessary to strengthen the hands of your Commissioners, I will upon your requisition furnish you with what it may be in my power to spare. Some Brigades of the Army have been five days without Meat; to endeavour to relieve their distresses I have moved down to this place with a view of bringing off the Cattle and Forage from the lower parts of Bergen. Of the first, I scarcely find any but Milch Cows and Cattle so young and bad that nothing but the extreme of want could induce the Soldiery to accept of them.

That we may, if possible, form some small Magazines, I shall, for the present discharge every useless mouth, or keep them so far from the Main Body of the Army, that they may be fed without interfering much with the supplies intended for it. But we have such a variety of embarrassments in the way, that I almost despair of being able to effect my purpose. With great Regard etc.

P.S. I mention the particulars of the Blockade of the French Fleet in confidence to your Excellency, as I know not whether it would be agreeable to the French Admiral and General to have it made public.<sup>99</sup>

99. The draft is in writing of Tench Tilghman.

## **CIRCULAR TO THE STATES<sup>15</sup>**

Head Quarters, near the Liberty Pole, in Bergen County, August 27, 1780.

Sir: The Honble: the Committee of Co-operation having returned to Congress, I am under the disagreeable necessity of informing you that the Army is again reduced to an extremity of distress for want of provision. The greater part of it had been without Meat from the 21st. to the 26th. To endeavour to obtain some relief, I moved down to this place, with a view of stripping the lower parts of the County of the remainder of its Cattle, which after a most rigorous exaction is found to afford between two and three days supply only, and those, consisting of Milch Cows and Calves of one or two years old. When this scanty pittance is consumed, I know not what will be our next resource, as the Commissary can give me no certain information of more than 120 head of Cattle expected from pennsylvania and about 150 from Massachusetts. I mean in time to supply our immediate wants. Military coercion is no longer of any avail, as nothing further can possibly be collected from the Country in which we are obliged to take a position, without depriving the inhabitants of the last morsel. This mode of subsisting, supposing the desired end could be answered by it, besides being in the highest degree distressing to individuals, is attended with ruin to the Morals and discipline of the Army; during the few days which we have been obliged to send out small

15. Addressed to the Presidents or Governors of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland.

parties to procure provision for themselves, the most enormous excesses have been committed.

It has been no inconsiderable support of our cause, to have had it in our power to contrast the conduct of our Army with that of the enemy, and to convince the inhabitants that while their rights were wantonly violated by the British Troops, by ours they were respected. This distinction must

unhappily now cease, and we must assume the odious character of the plunderers instead of the protectors of the people, the direct consequence of which must be to alienate their minds from the Army and insensibly from the cause. We have not yet been absolutely without Flour, but we have *this* day but *one* days supply in Camp, and I am not certain that there is a single Barrel between this place and Trenton. I shall be obliged therefore to draw clown one or two hundred Barrels from a small Magazine which I have endeavoured to establish at West point, for the security of the Garrison in case of a sudden investiture.

From the above state of facts it may be foreseen that this army cannot possibly remain much longer together, unless very vigorous and immediate measures are taken by the States to comply with the requisitions made upon them. The Commissary General has neither the means nor the power of procuring supplies; he is only to receive them from the several Agents. Without a speedy change of circumstances, this dilemma will be involved; either the Army must disband, or what is, if possible, worse, subsist upon the plunder of the people. I would fain flatter myself that a knowledge of our situation will produce the desired relief; not a relief of a few days as has generally heretofore been the case, but a supply equal to the establishment of Magazines for the Winter. If these are not formed before the Roads are broken up by the weather, we shall certainly experience the same difficulties and distresses the ensuing Winter which we did the last. Altho' the troops have upon every occasion hitherto borne their wants with unparralled patience, it will be dangerous to trust too often to a repetition of the causes of discontent. I have the honor etc.<sup>16</sup>

[N.H.H.S.]

16. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The draft, in the *Washington Papers*, is in the writing of Tench Tilghman and Alexander Hamilton.

The letter sent to President Reed, in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade, is in the *Washington Papers*.

**To DANIEL MARSH<sup>17</sup>**

Head Quarters, near the Liberty Pole, August 27, 1780.

Sir: I have just received your Letter of Yesterday respecting the apprehensions of the Magistrates and well affected Inhabitants of Essex County.

I cannot but flatter myself the Citizens of that County and of America in general will do me the justice to acknowledge that I have ever paid the most particular attention to the preservation of their property and civil rights. And altho the sufferings of the Army for want of meat, have been extremely great, as some of the Brigades have been without for five days, I could heartily have wished that any measure should have been fallen upon to procure a supply, rather than Military coercion. But under these circumstances I found myself compelled to make a forage to obtain immediate relief; this was to have been confined to Bergen and Barbadoes Necks, and it was by mistake or misapprehension that it was extended any farther. Some of the Commissaries, I am informed represented to Major Lee that there was a large number of sheep in Newark, part of which might be obtained for the Army and that Capt Carnes was sent for this purpose. I am happy that no disagreeable consequences have ensued from the mistake.

At the same time that I call to mind, with very great satisfaction and gratitude the exertions of the Well

17. Contractor for cattle in Essex County, N. J.

affected Inhabitants of New Jersey, when the Army was so much distressed for provisions the last Winter. I cannot doubt their future efforts or avoid feeling a real pleasure at the assurances of the Magistrates to furnish by impress, if the Inhabitants will not sell, whatever provisions and forage can be spared. I am etc.<sup>18</sup>

**To PRESIDENT JAMES BOWDOIN**

Head Quarters, Liberty Pole, August 28, 1780.

Sir: I have been duly honored with your letter of the 16th.

I am much obliged to the Council for the loan of the arms and am persuaded they have spared all that were in their power. I believe they have been misinformed about the number of arms at Springfield. By the last return there were two thousand muskets capable of repair, and about sixteen thousand gun barrels, which being mounted would be fit for service. But that fundamental defect in our affairs, the want of money prevents our availing ourselves of the resources otherwise in our power and obstructs the activity of every department. A representation is gone to the Board of war entreating them to take every method in their power for having the above arms put in a condition for service as speedily

18. The draft is in the writing of David Humphreys.

as possible.

The late advices from Europe have materially altered the immediate prospects of the campaign, and placed the probability of any capital operation at a much greater distance than was expected. I have therefore written to General Heath to dismiss all the Militia at Rhode Island as soon as they shall be judged no longer necessary to our allies. The extreme distress we are in on the score of supplies would have compelled us to this, even had not circumstances enabled us to dispense for the present with their services. Such part of the Militia of your state as had come on to the army have been stationed at West Point, where their continuance is still necessary; for even with their aid, our force is only equal to the defensive.

I beg leave to observe that I do not think in the present posture of our affairs we ought to discontinue our efforts to fill the Continental batalions. We ought to be prepared for events, which without this we shall not be, and as to the supplies required they are necessary in all cases to the

subsistence of the army. The letter accompanying this will show how deplorable our situation is in this respect. With every sentiment of respect etc.<sup>21</sup>

21. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

**To PRESIDENT JAMES BOWDOIN**

[Private]

Head Quarters, August 28, 1780.

I am much obliged to you My Dear Sir for your letter of the 17 and for the interesting intelligence you do me the favour to communicate.

The blockade of the port of Brest by delaying the sailing of the second division, makes a material change in our prospects. I fear it will put it out of our power to operate against New York; but if you are not unfortunate in Europe and if vigorous measures are taken to give us magazines, we may still hope for some important operation; but it will probably be in a different quarter. I think however as I have mentioned in my official letter to you, that we ought not to discontinue raising Men for the Continental batalions, as there is a possibility that we may still operate here, from the movement of the Cadiz fleet, or by a reinforcement from the Islands; or if an operation here should not be practicable the encreasing our force will enable us the better to detach to the Southward.

I should be happy to comply with the wishes of the Council respecting the arms; but our present deficiencies and the casualties that daily arise will make us stand in need of all that has arrived in the alliance. We expect a further supply shortly<sup>19</sup> and the state may depend that as soon as possible its loan shall

19. That is, the arms and supplies left at L'Orient by the *Alliance*, which it was hoped the *Ariel* would bring over.

be replaced. I entreat your influence to have all the arms, powder cannon and clothing ready made forwarded without delay to Springfield; for the officers in the service of the Continent have not the necessary means of transportation.

I am informed of a set of resolutions lately entered into by a convention of delegates from the four Eastern states, which if rightly represented to me, and carried into execution will be the most likely means that could be adopted to rescue our affairs from the complicated and dreadful embarrassments under which they labour, and will do infinite honor to those with whom they originate. I sincerely wish they may meet with no opposition or delay in their progress. Our situation is truly delicate and demands all our wisdom, all our virtue, all our energy. Great Britain no doubt encounters many serious perplexities and dangers, but there will be no miracle in her surmounting them. In Europe by the last advices there was a critical moment where the chances were too equally balanced. On this continent the affairs of the Enemy are rather too prosperous; in the West Indies, at this season, the elements may fight against our allies; but here is our best hope. As to domestic dissensions, though they will no doubt embarrass, I confess I have no great confidence in them. We have every motive to be in earnest and to exert ourselves to the utmost to take care of ourselves. With the truest esteem etc.<sup>20</sup>

20. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

## **To GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE**

Head Quarters, Liberty Pole, Bergen County, August 28, 1780.

Sir: The intelligence brought by the Alliance Frigate renders it so very uncertain, whether we shall be in condition to commence our expected operation before the expiration of the whole or the greater part of the time for which the Militia were engaged, that I think it will be prudent to dismiss them as soon as possible, not only in the general scale of Oeconomy, but more particularly to avoid an unnecessary consumption of provision, for which we are extremely distressed, as my circular letter of this date fully describes. You will therefore be pleased to discharge all those required by

the Committee of Cooperation, as soon as General Heath shall be of opinion that the forwardness of the Works at present on hand will admit of it. I would however recommend the compleating your Continental Battalions upon this consideration, that in case we should be unexpectedly called to operate, the fuller those Battalions are, the less will be the demand for Militia. I have the honor &c.<sup>22</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, near the Liberty Pole, Bergen County, August 28, 1780.

Dear Sir: I was a few days ago honored with yours of the 9th:

22. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

since the receipt of it, I have seen Commissary Cheever, and have had an opportunity of making particular enquiry into the state of the Arms at Springfield. He tells me, that the repair, of such of the old Muskets as are worth the trouble and expence, is going on as fast as the circumstances of want of hands and want of money will admit. The greater part of the Gun Barrels, he says, are absolutely unfit for use, having been taken out of old stocks at different times, and not imported in their present state from Europe. I will direct Genl. Knox to make enquiry after the 100 Barrels of Powder at Farmington, and if they belong to the Continent, to have them removed to one of the public Magazines.

From the accounts brought by the Alliance Frigate, I think the prospects of operating, at least during the time for which the Militia were drawn out, are so very precarious, that circumstanced as we are in regard to provision (as my Circular letter of this date particularly points out) it will be more advisable to discharge them immediately than to keep them up. You will therefore be pleased to give orders for the dismissal of all those who were raised in consequence of the requisition of the Committee of Cooperation. I should hope that if such a reinforcement should unexpectedly arrive to our Allies, as would enable us to carry on operations against the enemy, that the Militia might be shortly reassembled: But I wish that this suspension of a part of our preparations may not have



any influence upon procuring the number of Men necessary to compleat the Continental Battalions. For want of them, I am still obliged, much against my inclination, to keep the Militia of some of the states in the field; and this

consideration should ever be kept in view, that should we operate, the fuller the Continental Battalions, the smaller will be the demand for Militia. I have the honor etc.<sup>23</sup>

### **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, Liberty Pole, August 28, 1780.

Dear Sir: Tomorrow morning Col Malcolm will march with the levies under his command towards Kings ferry, and will proceed himself to your Excellency to take your orders. I have sent this corps in consequence of what General Schuyler mentioned to me in behalf of your Excellency, and have requested him to write to you particularly on the subject. The immediate prospects of the campaign having changed, it cannot be more usefully employed, than in giving security to the frontier, and assisting to save the grain for the mutual benefit of the public and the inhabitants.

The discontents prevailing in the garrison of Fort Schuyler are so alarming, that it seems indispensable it should be without delay relieved by other troops. At this moment, it would be inconvenient to detach a regiment from the army. I leave it to Your Excellency, if you think proper to relieve the garrison by a sufficient number of the levies. They ought to be of those, who

23. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

will have at least two or three months after their arrival to serve; otherwise the post might be endangered, by the expiration of their times, before we can conveniently replace them from the army. A good officer acquainted with service to command the garrison will be essential. I request you to inform me how long the service of the new garrison may be depended upon.

The inclosed letter to Col Van Schaik which I beg you to forward, directs him to put his regiment under marching orders, and receive your further instructions. As soon as relieved he is to march to join the army. I have the honor etc.<sup>24</sup>

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters in the vicinity of Fort Lee, August, 29 1780.

Sir: I had not the honor till three days ago to receive Your Excellency's Letters of the 4th Ulto and 2d Instant.

With respect to your enquiry about sending Tobacco to New York and Long Island for the prisoners, it is not in my power to give You a decisive answer, but I am much inclined to think that it would not be permitted by the Enemy. I have heard by report that the matter has been mentioned on some

24. In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. From a photostat of the original kindly furnished by Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N. J.

occasion, and it was said not to be admissible; and also that they would not allow a quantity of *Iron* or lumber to be sent from Maryland for their prisoners. The more eligible way I believe will be for Your Excellency to pursue the Alternative You proposed, and to transmit the Money.

The good effects arising from proclamations to bring in Deserters have not hitherto been very extensive; however I was induced from the reports I had received that there were many in Virginia, who would probably surrender themselves on a promise of pardon, to issue One, which I took the liberty of transmitting to Your Excellency in a Letter of the 14th Inst, which I presume will have come to hand before this time. I now inclose Your Excellency Another founded on the Act of Assembly transmitted in your Letter of the 2d,<sup>42</sup> with an Additional clause respecting prisoners who have escaped from the Enemy and returned to their Homes. Your Excellency it is probable,

will have withheld the former proclamation, if You have you will be so obliging, after filling up the blank left for inserting the date and manner of publishing the Act to which the present One refers, as to commit it to the printer.

Our prospects of an operation against New York this Campaign have become very precarious and contingent. The Alliance Frigate has just arrived at Boston from L'Orient, which she left the 9th of July, and we learn by her that the Harbour of Brest from whence the Second division intended to cooperate with us was to come, was then blocked up by 32 British Ships of the line, and

42. This broadside and Jefferson's letter to Washington of Aug. 2, 1780, are in the *Washington Papers*.

that the division had not sailed. We also hear through the same channel, that the combined fleet consisting of 36 or 38 Ships of the line had sailed from Cadiz to open the Harbour and form a junction with several Other Ships of War, which were shut in. From this intelligence it is probable we shall soon be informed, that a great naval combat has taken place between the Two fleets. I sincerely wish success to our Allies and I will not doubt it, but if it should be the case, the arrival of the 2d division, making a reasonable allowance for their passage and delay afterwards for refreshing the Troops and Seamen, will hardly be in time for us to commence so extensive an operation as the one against New York, with a reasonable hope of carrying it through before Winter sets in with severity. But this is not the only objection. The States remain most amazingly deficient in their quotas of Troops and I have too much reason to fear it would be the case, if the remainder of the french force was here. This is, it must be the consequence of our fatal system of short enlistments, by which we have Armies to raise on the spur of the occasion, and by the repetition of which the patriotism and purses of the people have been so often and so far extended that they are discouraged and go about to comply with any requisitions with an infinite indifference. And besides this failure on our part, I have the mortification to inform Your Excellency that for several days past the Army has been almost intirely destitute of meat, on some days without a mouthful, and has drawn the chief part it has had from the scanty supplies in the hands of the Inhabitants in the vicinity of it who

had been impoverished before. Those failures and these wants on our part, blast almost every hope of successful operations in any case, and the latter produce a most licentious spirit in the soldiery. An Army should be well fed, well cloathed and paid and then You may exact and expect almost any thing from it. This is a measure universally received among military Men and is founded in the most obvious reason, but with respect to Our Army it does not operate in any one of those instances. I have the Honor etc.

P.S. If Your Excellency, when this comes to hand, should have published the proclamation transmitted in my Letter of the 14th. and should still chuse to publish the present One, as being conformable to the wishes of the Legislature; You will be pleased to erase the last paragraph respecting Soldiers who have been prisoners and escaped, before it goes to the press, as the former contained one nearly similar.<sup>43</sup>

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE**

Head Quarters, September 2, 1780.

Sir: I beg leave to inform Your Excellency that the Commission of Colo Price of your line, has been transmitted to me in a Letter dated at Frederick Town the 31st of April last, informing

43. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

of his determination to resign. The Letter was a most unreasonable time on its way and by some means was not signed, but from the subject of it and the circumstance of its inclosing his Commission without doubt it came from him. Your Excellency, if You think proper will communicate his resignation to the Board of War, with your Certificate directing the promotion of the Officer who is to succeed in consequence and such other promotions as the event must involve. The Officers promoted will be entitled to rank from the 31st of April.

I also beg leave to inform Your Excellency that I have within a few days past received a Letter from Major John Stewart of the Maryland line dated at Baltimore the 12th Ult. in which he mentions

“that the command of the Additional Regiment raising by the State, has been given to a Mr Jones, who was a Young Captain in the third Regiment and who resigned last Winter and suggesting that he had left the Officers of the line in a state of great dissatisfaction, and that he anticipated the most fatal consequences from the appointment whenever they should be informed of it.” From the experience I have had in cases which were similar, I cannot but add that I am much afraid the event will be attended with great uneasiness and indeed disagreeable convulsions. The making this communication is a matter of delicacy with me, but I confidently rely that I shall stand justified to Your Excellency and the State, and that You will indulgently believe that I do it, not from a wish to interfere in the most distant manner with the arrangements or appointments they may think proper to make upon any occasion, but from motives

of a very different nature. These I hope will at once occur and therefore I shall only add that I have the honor etc.<sup>80</sup>

**To JAMES CANNON**

Head Quarters, Bergen County, September 3, 1780.

Sir: I have received your favr. of the 28th:<sup>82</sup> ulto: on the subject of the exchange of Lt. Govt.

Gadsden.<sup>83</sup> I am at a loss to know what means will be fallen upon to procure the release of the Gentlemen in the Civil line who were made prisoners in South Carolina, as we have few or none of similar Ranks or circumstances in our hands, and our military Officers in captivity considerably exceeded those of the enemy before the surrender of Charles town, which has very much increased the Balance agt. us. Partial exchanges are sometimes agreed upon between Gentlemen in the Civil line which may require my interposition to carry them into execution; should such an occasion present itself, or any other, in which I can with propriety interest myself I shall with great pleasure embrace an opportunity of being serviceable to Govr. Gadsden. I am &c.<sup>84</sup>

80. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

On September 2 Robert Hanson Harrison, by direction of Washington, also wrote Major Lee requesting that a recruit by the name of Hoogland be delivered up to Hoogland's brother when the latter required him to appear in court to discharge a bond which the brother had given for his appearance. Harrison's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

On September 2 Tench Tilghman also wrote to Captain von Heer that Washington wished Von Heer to send a patrol “down Barbadoes Neck as low as Aurant Schuylers, from whence he must detach one small party to Kennedy's house and another to the road leading thro' the Cedar Swamp to Bergen; these two small parties are necessary for the security of the whole. If the Officer discovers any movements of the enemy upon that quarter, let him give the General the most immediate notice.” The draft of Tilghman's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

82. Cannon wrote to Washington from the University of Philadelphia.

83. Christopher Gadsden. He was vice president of South Carolina.

84. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

## **To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL**

Head Quarters, Bergen County, September 5, 1780.

Dear Sir: I am honored by your Excellency's favor of the 31st: ulto: accompanied by a letter to the Committee of Cooperation, which I took the liberty of opening, as those Gentlemen had been, some little time before, recalled by Congress. Our situation, in respect to Meat, is, if possible, worse now than it was when I addressed my circular letter of the 27th: ulto. The Country in the neighbourhood is daily more and more exhausted, and our prospects of an immediate supply from a distance are far from being adequate to our wants. The whole Army will be this day without Meat, and some part of it has been several days on short allowance.

While I rejoice to hear that the Country abounds in supplies, I cannot but be alarmed at finding your Excellency express a fear that they will come on irregularly to the Army. I very much approve of the plan of establishing a correspondence between the superintending Commissaries of the New England States, for want of which we are, no doubt, subjected to many inconveniences. I will not undertake to say how the account of supplies furnished by the State of Connecticut stands upon a general scale, but if I am not misinformed by the Commissary General, she is very considerably deficient upon the requisitions made by the Committee of Co-operation. He tells me he has received no Cattle from Colo. Champion for five weeks past.

The four or five hundred Barrels of salt Beef, which your Excellency mentions, will be a most valuable acquisition to the Magazine at West point, as we have been under the necessity of consuming the small quantity which I had wished to keep in reserve at that post, to secure it in case of a sudden investiture. You will therefore oblige me by forwarding it as expeditiously as possible to that place. I have the honor etc.<sup>96</sup>

#### **To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters, Bergen County, September 5, 1780.

Sir: I was yesterday honored with your Excellencys favor of the 9th: ulto. inclosing a return of 40 prisoners of War delivered to the Continental Commy, at Winchester, for which the state will have the proper credit. Now I am upon the subject of prisoners, I would wish to be informed in what light I am to consider Governor Hamilton, as I do not observe him included in the list. That Gentleman has already been the subject of several propositions on the part of the enemy, and should others be made before I hear again from your Excellency, I shall be embarrassed, as I shall not know on what footing to place him. Indeed there will shortly be an interview on the subject of exchange, at which it is more than probable he will be again

96. In the writing of Tench Tilghman. From the original in the Connecticut State Library.

mentioned. From what I have heard, I have reason to believe that the enemy will exchange him for a Lieut. Colonel.

Should there be any other Officers in Virginia who are considered as prisoners belonging to the State, I shall be glad to be informed of their names and Ranks, and whether I may include them should opportunities offer of making either a partial or general exchange. I have the honor etc.<sup>97</sup>

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE**

Head Quarters, Bergen County, September 6, 1780.

Sir: In consequence of the disagreeable intelligence of the defeat of the Army, under Major General Gates,<sup>5</sup> which I have just received: I think it expedient to countermand the march of the Troops which were ordered from Maryland to join the Main Army. I am therefore to request Your Excellency to give directions for the Regiment lately raised for the War, as well, as for all the Recruits of your State (as soon as they can possibly be collected and organized) to march immediately to the Southward, and put themselves under the Orders of the Commanding Officer in that department.

Altho I have not had the particulars of the late disaster, or of how extensive a nature it is: Yet it

97. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

5. At Camden, S.C.

is certain the exigency is such, as will demand the most vigorous and spirited Measures to retrieve our affairs and check the Enemy: And I cannot entertain a doubt, but Your Excellency and the State will use every exertion to give activity and dispatch to the march of the Troops; and to all the Measures necessary for the protection of the Southern States.



I have enclosed this Letter open to the Board of War, that in case the Regiment in question is on its march from Maryland it may be ordered to return without delay. I have the honor etc.<sup>6</sup>

[MD.H.S.]

**To SAMUEL MEREDITH**

Head Quarters, Bergen County, September 9, 1780.

Sir: I have recd. your favr. of the 27th ulto. I am sorry that the Abilities of the Gentlemen of the Bank should not be equal to their inclinations or that any embarrassments should be thrown in their way by local laws. I am however confident, that every thing within their power will be done for the relief of the Army and tho' their supplies may not come up to what they at first intended, they will make a very acceptable and material addition to those furnished by the several States. I am etc.

6. In the writing of David Humphreys.

A note dated "War Office Septr. 11th. 1780," and signed "B[enjamin] S[todert]" has been added at the bottom of the above letter enumerating the clothing supplies needed for these Maryland troops.

**To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Head Quarters, Bergen County, September 11, 1780.

Sir: I am exceedingly obliged by your Excellency's favour of the 3d. It has indeed relieved me from much anxiety, as, from Genl. Gates's letter of the 20th Augt. from Hillsborough, there was the greatest reason to apprehend that the whole of the Maryland line and the troops which made a stand with *them* had been cut off.<sup>46</sup> The stroke, as it is, is severe; but the total loss of the regulad troops, would have rendered the speedy assemblage of another Army extremely difficult.

The loss of the Arms, which were thrown away by the Militia, is a most disagreeable circumstance at this time, as we are much disappointed in the quantity expected in the Alliance Frigate lately arrived at Boston, she having brought two thousand stand only. I am however happy to hear that the three thousand stand sent from Philada. were yet on their way to Virginia, as they will be nearly if not quite sufficient to arm the Levies for 18 Months and the old soldiers who may be collected.<sup>47</sup>

The Cloathing by the Alliance was as deficient of the expected quantity as that of the Arms. I mention this circumstance, lest the Legislature, depending upon public importations, should relax in their endeavour to procure it by their own means. Indeed should the whole of what has been spoken of arrive, it will be inadequate to our wants.

46. No accurate returns of Gates's loss are available. He noted that about 700 of the Maryland line rejoined him after the battle, most of them with their arms. There appear to be no accurate returns of Gates's force, even before the battle.

47. At this point the draft has the following crossed out: "and I would take the liberty of earnestly recommending to your Excellency that these Arms may be appropriated to those purposes and not delivered to the Militia; except you find the other troops cannot be raised."

In my letter of the 29th: Augt. which had not reached you, I informed you of the objections which would be made to shipping Tobacco to New York to supply the wants of our prisoners.

Your Excellency's favor without date, accompanied by letters from the General Officers at Charlotteville came safely to hand. I am sorry that they have so good ground to complain of the deficiency of provisions, but while they make those representations, they ought to consider that we are upwards of one hundred thousand pounds Sterling in advance upon that score and that they either cannot or will not pay us one farthing.

Immediately upon hearing of the disaster near Campden I directed the additional Regiment of Maryland which was on the march to join this Army to return and proceed to the Southward. This Regt. is raised for the War and by the last returns amounted to above 400 Men.

I have accounts thro' a variety of channels that an embarkation is preparing at New York. They differ materially as to numbers, but the prevailing opinion is, that they are either bound to Virginia or Carolina. The moment I am more particularly informed, I will communicate the intelligence to your Excellency. In the mean time I think it would be prudent to direct the removal of any public stores which may be upon navigable waters, and to make the arrangements which may be necessary for defence in case such an event should take place.

There has been no alteration in the situation

of things in this quarter or with the Fleet and Army of our Ally since I had the honor of addressing you last. I have the honor etc.<sup>48</sup>

#### **To PRESIDENT JAMES BOWDOIN**

Head Quarters, near Hackensack Bridge, September 12, 1780.

Gentn: Notwithstanding the Second Division expected from France has not arrived, we have good reason to think it will make its appearance before it is long upon our coast, or that the Chevalier de Ternay will at any rate receive a reinforcement which will give him a naval superiority in these seas. If this should be the case the delicate and pressing situation of our affairs will require that we avail ourselves of the succour if it shall be practicable, in some way or other. The circumstances of the season may be such possibly, as to prevent any operation in this quarter but still perhaps something may be attempted elsewhere with a good prospect of success and advantage. But this will depend on the means we have of subsisting our Troops. At present, unfortunately for us, were we in the fullest possession of a naval superiority and the fairest opportunities were to present

themselves for striking a Stroke, we could not transport even a small body of Troops to any point however interesting and certain the Object for want of salt provisions. From these considerations,

48. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

it is a matter of the greatest importance that we should have a supply immediately procured if it is possible. Every thing may depend upon it and must, so far as any Enterprise is attempted, except against New York. I have heard that a very considerable quantity of beef and pork was captured in the Quebec fleet. If this is the fact, it seems to be the only source from which we can hope to obtain a supply, and from the necessity of the case I take the liberty to entreat you and will endeavour to secure it. I would wish at least Four thousand Barrels to be provided if it be by any means practicable and I am certain the Council will render the states the most essential service by the measure. But if after all, events should occur to make this supply unnecessary, the provision will not prove an incumbrance on their hands and will always bring it's cost. I confide in the goodness of the Council to excuse this freedom and persuade myself that they will most readily place the application to the motives which have really produced it.

I am pained to inform Your Honorable body that our distresses for meat still continue pressing and alarming. The supplies we have received, including the Cattle which have been exacted from the Inhabitants of this state and in many instances to their entire ruin and which have made no inconsiderable part, have been little more than sufficient to satisfy a third of our necessary demands. The troops on some occasions have been even four and five days without a mouthful of meat. Complaints and murmuring, a relaxation of discipline, marauding, robbery and desertion are the consequences, and indeed it is to be wondered at that they have not prevailed to a much greater extent. I am satisfied things cannot continue long in their present situation. I have the honor etc.<sup>54</sup>

**To GOVERNOR JOHN RUTLEDGE**

Head Quarters, Bergen County, September 12, 1780.

Dear Sir: I had the pleasure, a few days ago, of receiving your Excellency's favor of the 27th. Augt. from Philadelphia. I am extremely sorry that circumstances did not admit of your intended visit to the Army, as I could, in a personal conference, have entered more minutely into a detail of our Affairs, than I can with safety commit to paper.

Your Excellency may rest assured, that I am fully impressed with the importance of the southern states, and of course with the necessity of making every effort to expel the enemy from them. The late unlucky affair near Campden renders their situation more precarious, and calls for every exertion to stop, at least, the further progress of the British Army. It is to be wished that the composition of our force in this quarter, our resources, and the present situation of the Fleet and Army of our Ally admitted of an immediate and sufficient detachment, not only to answer the purpose I have

54. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

just mentioned, but to carry on operations of a more serious and extensive nature. But this not being the case, for reasons which must be obvious to you, let it suffice that your Excellency be informed, that our views tend ultimately to the southward. In the mean time our endeavours, in that quarter, should be directed, rather to checking the progress of the enemy by a permanent, compact and well organized body of Men, than attempting immediately to recover the State of South Carolina, by a numerous Army of Militia, who, [besides being inconceivably expensive are] too fluctuating and undisciplined to oppose one composed chiefly of regular troops. I would recommend to you therefore to make use of your influence with the States from Maryland southward to raise without delay at least five thousand Men for the war if it can be effected, if not, for as long a time as possible. These with the Militia in the Vicinity, would answer the purpose I have last mentioned, and would in proper time make a useful body either to form a diversion in favor of or to cooperate with a force upon the coast. I have hinted the outlines of a plan to your Excellency, which for many reasons should be, in general, kept to yourself: You will oblige me by informing yourself as accurately as possible what may be the present resources of the Country as to Meat, Corn, Wheat or Rice and transportation, as I suppose circumstances may have occasioned a considerable change.

And if it is possible to form Magazines of either, it should be done, especially of salt meat, which is an Article as essential to military operations, that the States of Virginia and

North Carolina should be requested to lay up as soon as the weather will permit at least 4000 Barrels in proportion to their respective Abilities. You will also be pleased to endeavour to gain a knowledge of the force of the enemy, the posts they occupy, the nature and state of those posts, and the reinforcements they may probably derive from the people of the Country. As you receive these several intelligences, you will be pleased to communicate them to me, [with your opinion of the best place for debarking Troops in case of an Expedition agt. the enemy in the Southern States, and the names of Persons in that Qr. whose opinion and advice may be serviceable in such an event. With much esteem etc.]<sup>55</sup>

55. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The portions in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

## **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, Robinsons, September 26, 1780.

Dear Sir: I arrived here yesterday on my return from an interview with the French General and Admiral and have been witness to a scene of treason as shocking as it was unexpected. General Arnold from every circumstance had entered into a plot

for sacrificing West Point. He had an interview with Major Andre the British Adjutant General last Week at Jos. Smiths<sup>61</sup> where the plan was concerted; by an extraordinary concurrence of incidents, Andre was taken on his return with several papers in Arnolds handwriting that proved the treason. The latter unluckily got notice of it before I did,<sup>62</sup> went immediately down the river got on board the Vulture which brought up Andre and proceeded to New York.

I found the post in the most critical condition and have been taking measures to give it security which I hope will be to night effectual. With the greatest respect etc.

P.S. Smith is also in our possession and has confessed facts sufficient to establish his guilt.<sup>63</sup>

[N.Y.H.S.]

## **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, Orange Town, October 1, 1780.

Dear Sir: The inclosed will shew your Excellency the distress we are like to experience in a few days for want of flour.<sup>83</sup> You are so fully impressed with the pernicious tendency of so frequent a repetition of want, that I am sure, I need only inform you of our prospects, to engage your utmost exertions to give us the necessary

61. Joshua Hett Smith.

62. Lieut. Col. John Jameson, of the Second Continental Dragoons, when André was brought to his quarters by Paulding, Van Wart, and Williams, sent him forward, under guard, to Arnold at Robinson's House, as the latter was Jameson's commanding officer. Acceding to Major Tallmadge's vehement protest, Jameson afterwards recalled André; but insisted on sending notice to Arnold of his capture. He wrote to Washington, September 27: "I am very sorry that I wrote to G—Arnold. I did not think of a British Ship being up the River and expected that if he was the man he has since turned out to be that he wou'd come down to the Troops in this Quarter in which case I shou'd have secured him. I mentioned my intention to Major Tallmage and some other of the Field Officers all of whom were clearly of Opinion that it wou'd be right until I could hear from your Excellency." Jameson's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

63. In the writing of George Augustine Washington.

83. The inclosure was a copy of the letter from Charles Stewart, dated Sept. 30, 1780. (See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, Oct. 1, 1780.)

supply. The exigency demands immediate measures to forward to West Point all the flour ready at the different mills. It has been mentioned to me that a deficiency of barrels would retard the supplies from your state, I have given directions to have those at West Point repaired and delivered to the order of your agent. Your Excellency knows the reliance I place on the state of New York, delicacy will not permit me to say how much we must depend on you at this juncture. I have the honor etc.<sup>84</sup>

**To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

Head Quarters, Orange Town, October 1, 1780.

Dear Sir: I am under the necessity of laying before your Excellency, the Copy of a representation made to me yesterday, by the Commy. General of Issues, on the subject of Flour. The representation goes so fully and truly into our present situation and prospects, that I shall only refer your Excellency to it, and then entreat you to exert your authority and influence, with the Agents and all others concerned, in procuring and forwarding a supply to Trenton without delay. Of 470 Barrels which were in the Magazine of West point, I have been unavoidably obliged to

84. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

draw down 300 to this Army, by which that valuable post may be endangered, should the Enemy endeavour to obtain by force, what they attempted to gain by treachery; but in which they have been so providentially disappointed.

I most sincerely condole with your Excellency on the loss of your amiable Lady. The news of that melancholy event was imparted to me by the Minister of France on my journey from Harford I have the Honor etc.<sup>85</sup>



## To GOVERNOR THOMAS JEFFERSON

Head Quarters, near Passaick Falls, October 10, 1780.

Sir: On Sunday Evening I had the honor to receive Your Excellency's Letters of the 23d and 26th of last Month. I am happy to find by the former and the Letter You were so obliging as to forward from Colo Wood that the Convention troops are now comfortably supplied. I hope this will be the case and that the mode you have in contemplation to adopt will answer your expectations. Colo Wood's conduct is highly pleasing to me and merits the public esteem. It is such as I fully expected. He has not himself suggested the most distant hint of his intentions to quit the post, or I should most Strongly urge his continuance. I shall however in a Letter to him of this date take occasion to mention his good conduct, the services he has rendered, and those that will

85. In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

be derived to the public from his continuing in the command.

It gives me pleasure to hear that the New Levies are rendezvousing so generally. I fear they will be but too much wanted, from the measures I think it highly probable the Enemy will pursue this fall and Winter, especially during the latter, as they will not be under any apprehension of the force we shall then have in this quarter; and will be at liberty to make almost any detachments they please. The dissolution of half our Army last fall and Winter enabled them to make the Detachments they did against Charles Town, which has involved so many serious consequences, and the same cause will put them in a condition to push their operations or at least to attempt it, in the course of this, in the Southern States. While we persevere in the system of short enlistments we shall experience misfortune and disgrace, and ultimately, if it is persisted in we shall most probably, lose the cause in which we are engaged. The arrangement You intend of part of the Draughts for Colo Harrison's Regiment is perfectly agreeable and I think proper. The matter did not occur to me, and if it had I should not have thought myself at liberty to have directed the appropriation, as I understand the Object of the Act, by which the Levies were raised, was to apply them to filling or replacing

the Regiments of Infantry. It would be a most desirable thing, if we had Magazines of Arms, Ammunition, Cloathing and Tents formed as Your Excellency mentions, but unhappily this is not the case, nor have we a Store of these essential Articles at any point. A Letter I had the honor of addressing You on the 11th Sept<sup>r</sup> will have informed You of our situation

in these respects. I am sorry to find that the Southern Army suffers for provision, and from the cause which contributes powerfully to our Embarrassments here, the want of transportation. This is now become a difficulty in our Affairs of the most serious consideration, and our situation admitting of no alternative, I have been obliged to use coercive measures, such as impresses, frequently in the course of the Campaign, to enable me to move the Army and to bring it Supplies. We are at this moment destitute of a drop of Rum for the Soldiery, and cannot obtain some Blankets we have at the Eastward, for want of transportation. As to the provision supplies which You have procured, it would be most eligible to keep them for Southern demands. This seems to have been the intention of Congress by their Act of the 8th Ult<sup>o</sup>, for forming Magazines of provision and forage for 15000 Men for 6 Months for the S. Army and directing Two thirds of the quota of the flour and Beef, which had been required from Maryland, to be retained for that purpose. I took the liberty in my Letter of the 11th of Sept<sup>r</sup>. to recommend to Your Excellency the removal of such as was collected on Navigable Rivers, from the reports which I had then received that the Enemy were about to embark troops and as some supposed for Virginia. As to the French fleet I don't think it probable that it will winter in the Chesapeake. The Enemy have a superior force to it in these seas and have held it blocked up ever since it arrived. This circumstance, supposing other considerations out of the question, would prevent the measure while it continues inferior.

I thank Your Excellency for the inclosures

contained in Your Letter of the 26th, which I have not received thro' any other Channel. Lord Cornwallis's Letter establishes beyond doubt, that his loss in the affair of the 16th of August was considerable, tho his report with respect to ours is not admissible. He seems determined to try what severity will do. I hope sooner or later he will be stopped in his career and that the rigorous policy he is pursuing will contribute to this.<sup>32</sup> It would appear from General Harrington's Letter<sup>33</sup> as if

the Enemy had left Campden, but this seems highly improbable unless they were advancing. The information of the Spaniards was premature as to the captures they mentioned, or at least the latest advices I have seen from the Havannah were silent about them. The Count de Guichen has not appeared in this quarter yet, tho he may have been on the Coast as they related. Your Excellency's Letter with respect to Lt Govr Hamilton and Major Hay<sup>34</sup> gives the satisfaction I wished. I only wanted information on the point, that I might know how to conduct myself with propriety and agreeable to the views of the State.

With respect to the reduction of Detroit, I have ever considered it as an event much to be desired, but we have never been in circumstances to attempt it. This will be less the case the ensuing Winter than at any period almost before, nor do I conceive myself at liberty to say an expedition may be undertaken against it in the manner You propose. As to powder our supply of this Article is very deficient. I was not able with all we have and all I could borrow from the different States to make up near a sufficiency

32. A copy of Cornwallis's letter dated August, 1780, to Lieut. Col. Nisbet Balfour, by Robert Hanson Harrison, is in the *Washington Papers*. In it Cornwallis says: "I have given Orders that all the Inhabitants of this province who have subscribed and have taken part in this Revolt should be punished with the greatest rigour and also those who will not turn out that they may be imprisoned and their whole property taken from them or destroyed. I have likewise ordered that compensation should be made out of their Estates to the persons who have been injured and oppressed by them. I have ordered in the most positive manner that every Militia Man who has borne Arms with us and afterwards joined the Enemy shall be immediately hanged. I desire You will take the most rigorous measures to punish the Rebels in the district in which You command and that You will obey in the strictest manner, the directions I have given in this Letter relative to the Inhabitants of this Country."

33. Brig. Gen. W. H. Harrington, of the South Carolina Militia. A copy of his letter, which is addressed to General Gates, and dated Sept. 16, 1780, is in the *Washington Papers*.

34. Maj. Adam Hay.

for the operations intended against New York, and must have depended much on our Allies for it, if these had been prosecuted. If however Your Excellency should determine to attempt the reduction of the post either at the expence of the State, or at that of the United States with the consent of Congress, it is possible the quantity you may have occasion for may be spared, if it is not too great and the means of transportation can be procured.

Your Excellency will have heard probably before this reaches You, of the perfidy of Major General Arnold. On the 25th of Septr he went to the Enemy. He had entered very deeply into a combination with them, as far as we can judge, for putting them in possession of the important post of West point, where he commanded and the command of which he had solicited. For this purpose he had contrived an interview with Major André Adjutant General to their Army, on the night of the 21st and delivered to him, A Copy of a State of matters I had laid before a Council of Genl Officers the 6th of Septr. An Estimate of the force at West point and its Dependencies; of Men to man the Works at West point. Remarks on those Works. A Return of Ordnance at West point and its Dependencies. Artillery orders for the disposition of the Corps in case of an alarm at West point. A permit to Major André, under the assumed name of John Anderson to pass our Guards. This Officer with all those papers in Arnold's hand writing, was taken by a most extraordinary and providential intervention of circumstances, under the assumed name of John Anderson and in a disguised habit, about Fifteen miles from the Enemy's Outpost at King's bridge,

by a small Militia patrol, who acted with great virtue upon the occasion, as he was returning to New York; having been all the night of the 21st and next day in the vicinity of our posts at Stony and Verplanks points, and passed by them the night preceding his capture. Arnold got information of the event on the morning of the 25th before it was known to any of the Officers under his command or any in authority and pushed down the River in a barge to the Vulture Sloop of War, which lay a few miles below Stony Point. Major André was tried by a Board of General Officers, and on his free and voluntary confession and Letters, was sentenced to suffer death, agreeable to the practice and usage of Nations in like cases, which he has accordingly suffered. He acted with great candor

after he avowed himself untill he was executed. Your Excellency will probably see the whole of the proceedings in his case published. We have no doubt now, whatever may be the future Objects and measures of the Enemy, that the primary and principal design of the embarkation they were making, was to take West point, which through the preconcerted arrangements between them and Mr Arnold, in all human probability, would have inevitably fallen into their hands and most likely in the course of a few days after the discovery. The Enemy have not laid aside from the accounts I continue to receive, their preparations for an expedition, and must now mean to make a push in some other more remote quarter. Hence Your Excellency will perceive that they leave nothing unessayed to carry their point; but I trust there are more than abundant virtue, as well as means in our hands, if these are properly directed, to withstand and baffle

easily all their most vigorous and artful efforts. I have the honor etc.<sup>35</sup>

**To MRS. MARY LEE<sup>48</sup>**

Head Quarters near Passaic Falls, October 11, 1780.

Madam: I am honored with your Letter of the 27th. of Septr. and cannot forbear taking the earliest moment to express the high sense I entertain of the patriotic exertions of the Ladies of Maryland in favor of the Army.

In answer to your enquiry respecting the disposal of the *Gratuity* , I must take the liberty to observe; that it appears to me, the *Money* which has been, or may be collected, cannot be expended in so eligible and beneficial a manner, as in the purchase of [Shirts and Stocks (black)] for the use of the troops in the Southern Army.

The polite offer you are pleased to make of your further assistance in the execution of *this liberal design* , and the generous disposition of the Ladies, insure me of its success, and cannot fail to entitle both yourself and them, to the warmest gratitude of those who are the objects of it. I am  
&c.<sup>49</sup>

35. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

48. Wife of Gov. Thomas Sim Lee.

49. The draft is in the writing of David Humphreys. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

### **To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Head Quarters, near Passaick Falls, October 16, 1780.

Dear Sir: I have this moment recd. your Excellency's fav: of the 14th with its inclosures. I do not think it at all improbable that the movements of the enemy, at this advanced season of the Year, may have been upon a plan concerted to take advantage of the success of Arnold's treachery. Genl. Greene, upon the first intelligence, ordered Gansevoorts Regt. up to Albany. I have directed him to send either Weisenfeld's or Willets Regt. after them. This is all the force I can with propriety detach from the Highland posts, untill the views of the enemy at New York are more fully ascertained. They have for a long time made demonstrations of an embarkation, but the sailing has been hitherto delayed. I however hope that the troops already ordered, with the assistance of the Militia, will be sufficient to check the enemy. They must depend upon the Country for supplies, as the Magazines are in a manner exhausted. Your Excellency will oblige me by keeping me advised of any further operations. I have the honor etc.<sup>99</sup>

99. The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

### **CIRCULAR TO THE STATES<sup>20</sup>**

Head Quarters, near Passaic Falls, October 18, 1780.

Sir: In obedience to the orders of Congress, I have the honor to transmit you the present state of the troops of your line, by which you will perceive how few Men you will have left after the 1st of

Jany. next. When I inform you also that the Regiments of the other Lines will be in general as much reduced as yours, you will be able to judge how exceedingly weak the Army will be at that period, and how essential it is the states should make the most vigorous exertions to replace the discharges Men as early as possible.

Congress are now preparing a plan for a new establishment of their Army which when finished they will transmit to the several States with requisitions for their respective quotas. I have no doubt it will be a primary object with them to have the Levies for the War, and this appears to me a point so interesting to our Independence that I cannot forbear entering into the motives which ought to determine the States without hesitation or alternative to take their measures decisively for that object.

I am religiously persuaded that the duration of the War and the greatest part of the misfortunes and perplexities we have hitherto experienced, are chiefly to be attributed to the System of temporary enlistments. Had we in the commencement raised an Army for the War, such as was within the reach of the Abilities of

20. The draft, by David Humphreys, is indorsed by Varick: "To all the States from N. Hampshire to Virginia except New Jersey," and by Tench Tilghman: "Circular to the States from New Hampshire to North Carolina inclusive with Returns of the Troops of their several lines."

these States to raise and maintain we should not have suffered those military Checks which have so frequently shaken our cause, nor should we have incurred such enormous expenditures as have destroyed our paper Currency and with it all public credit. A moderate compact force on a permanent establishment capable of acquiring the discipline essential to military operations would have been able to make head against the enemy without comparison better than the throngs of Militia which at certain periods have been, not in the field, but in their way to and from the Field; for from that want of perseverance which characterises all Militia, and of that coercion which cannot be exercised upon them, it has always been found impracticable to detain the greatest part of them in service even for the term, for which they have been called out, and this has been

commonly so short, that we have had a great proportion of the time two sets of Men to feed and pay, one coming to the Army and the other going from it. From this circumstance and from the extraordinary waste and consumption of provisions, stores, Camp equipage, Arms, Cloaths and every other Article incident to irregular troops, it is easy to conceive what an immense increase of public expence has been produced from the source of which I am speaking. I might add the diminution of our Agriculture by calling off at critical Seasons the labourers employed in it, as has happened in instances without number.

In the enumeration of Articles wasted, I mention Cloathes. It may be objected that the terms of engagements of the Levies do not include this, but if we want service from the Men particularly in the cold

Season we are obliged to supply them notwithstanding, and they leave us before the Cloaths are half worn out.

But there are evils still more striking that have befallen us. The intervals between the dismissal of one Army and the collection of another have more than once threatened us with ruin, which humanly speaking nothing but the supineness or folly of the enemy could have saved us from. How did our cause totter at the close of 76, when with a little more than two thousand Men we were driven before the enemy thro' Jersey and obliged to take post on the other side of the Delaware to make a shew of covering Philadelphia while in reallity nothing was more easy to them with a little enterprise, and industry than to make their passage good to that City and dissipate the remaining force which still kept alive our expiring opposition! What hindered them from dispersing our little Army and giving a fatal Blow to our affairs during all the subsequent winter, instead of remaining in a state of torpid inactivity and permitting us to hover about their Quarters when we had scarcely troops sufficient to mount the ordinary Guard? After having lost two Battles and Philadelphia in the following Campaign for want of those numbers and that degree of discipline which we might have acquired by a permanent force in the first instance, in what a cruel and perilous situation did we again find ourselves in the Winter of 77 at Valley Forge, within a days march of the enemy, with



a little more than a third of their strength, unable to defend our position, or retreat from it, for want of the means of transportation? What but the fluctuation of our Army enabled the

enemy to detach so boldly to the southward in 78 and 79 to take possession of the two States Georgia and South Carolina, while we were obliged here to be idle Spectators of their weakness; set at defiance by a Garrison of six thousand regular troops, accessible every where by a Bridge which nature had formed, but of which we were unable to take advantage from still greater weakness, apprehensive even for our own safety ? How did the same Garrison insult the main Army of these States the ensuing Spring and threaten the destruction of all our Baggage and Stores, saved by a good countenance more than by an ability to defend them? And what will be our situation this winter, our Army by the 1st. of January diminished to a little more than a sufficient Garrison for West point, the enemy at liberty to range the Country wherever they please, and, leaving a handful of Men at N York, to undertake Expeditions for the reduction of other States, which for want of adequate means of defense will it is much to be dreaded add to the number of their conquests and to the examples of our want of energy and wisdom?

The loss of Canada to the Union and the fate of the brave Montgomery compelled to a rash attempt by the immediate prospect of being left without Troops might be enumerated in the catalogue of evils that have sprang from this fruitful source.

We not only incur these dangers and suffer these losses for want of a constant force equal to our exigencies, but while we labor under this impediment it is impossible there can be any order or œconomy or system in our finances. If we meet with any severe blow

the great exertions which the moment requires to stop the progress of the misfortune oblige us to depart from general principles to run into any expence or to adopt any expedient however injurious on a larger scale to procure the force and means which the present emergency demands. Every thing is thrown into confusion and the measures taken to remedy immediate evils perpetuate others. The same is the case if particular conjunctions invite us to offensive operations; we find ourselves unprepared without troops, without Magazines, and with little time to provide them. We

are obliged to force our resources by the most burthensome methods to answer the end, and after all it is but half answered: the design is announced by the occasional effort, and the enemy have it in their power to counteract and elude the blow. The prices of every thing, Men provisions &ca. are raised to a height to which the Revenues of no Government, much less ours, would suffice. It is impossible the people can endure the excessive burthen of bounties for annual drafts and substitutes increasing at every new experiment: whatever it might cost them once for all to procure Men for the War would be a cheap bargain.

I am convinced our System of temporary inlistments has prolonged the War and encouraged the enemy to persevere. Baffled while we had an Army in the field, they have been constantly looking forward to the period of its reduction, as the period to our opposition, and the season of their successes. They have flattered themselves with more than the event has justified; for they believed when one Army expired, we should not be able to raise another: undeceived however in this expectation by experience, they still remained convinced,

and to me evidently on good grounds, that we must ultimately sink under a system which increases our expense beyond calculation, enfeebles all our measures, affords the most inviting opportunities to the enemy, and wearies and disgusts the people. This has doubtless had great influence in preventing their coming to terms and will continue to operate in the same way, The debates on the ministerial side have frequently manifested the operation of this motive, and it must in the nature of things have had great weight.

The interpositions of Neutral powers may lead to a negociation this winter: Nothing will tend so much to make the Court of London reasonable as the prospect of a permanent Army in this Country, and a spirit of exertion to support it.

Tis time we should get rid of an error which the experience of all mankind has exploded, and which our own experience has dearly taught us to reject; the carrying on a War with Militia, or, (which is nearly the same thing) temporary levies against a regular, permanent and disciplined force. The Idea is chimerical, and that we have so long persisted in it is a reflection on the judgment of a Nation

so enlightened as we are, as well as a strong proof of the empire of prejudice over reason. If we continue in the infatuation, we shall deserve to lose the object we are contending for.

America has been almost amused out of her liberties. We have frequently heard the behavior of the Militia extolled upon one and another occasion by Men who judge only from the surface, by Men who had particular views in misrepresenting, by visionary Men whose

credulity easily swallowed every vague story in support of a favorite Hypothesis. I solemnly declare I never was witness to a single instance that can countenance an opinion of Militia or raw troops being fit for the real business of fighting. I have found them useful as light parties to skirmish the Woods, but incapable of making or sustaining a serious attack. This firmness is only acquired by habit of discipline and service. I mean not to detract from the merit of the Militia; their zeal and spirit upon a variety of occasions have intitled them to the highest applause; but it is of the greatest importance we should learn to estimate them rightly. We may expect everything from ours that Militia is capable of, but we must not expect from any, service for which Regulars alone are fit. The late Battle of Campden is a melancholy comment upon this doctrine. The Militia fled at the first fire, and left the Continental troops surrounded on every side and overpowered by numbers to combat for safety instead of Victory. The enemy themselves have witnessed to their Valor.

An ill effect of short enlistments which I have not yet taken notice of, is that the constant fluctuation of their Men is one of the sources of disgust to the Officers. Just when by great trouble fatigue and vexation (with which the training of Recruits is attended) they have brought their Men to some kind of order, they have the mortification to see them go home, and to know that the drudgery is to recommence the next Campaign, In Regiments so constituted, an Officer has neither satisfaction nor credit in his command

Every motive which can arise from a consideration of our circumstances, either in a domestic or foreign point of view calls upon us to abandon temporary expedients and substitute something durable, systematic and substantial. This applies as well to our civil administration as to our military establishment. It is as necessary to give Congress, the common Head, sufficient powers to direct

the common Forces as it is to raise an Army for the War; but I should go out of my province to expatiate on Civil Affairs. I cannot forbear adding a few more remarks.

Our finances are in an alarming state of derangement. Public credit is almost arrived at its last Stage. The People begin to be dissatisfied with the feeble mode of conducting the War, and with the ineffectual burthens imposed upon them, which tho' light in comparison to what other nations feel are from their novelty heavy to them. They lose their confidence in Government apace. The Army is not only dwindling into nothing, but the discontents of the Officers as well as the Men have matured to a degree that threatens but too general a renunciation of the service, at the end of the Campaign. Since January last we have had registered at Head Quarters more than one hundred and sixty resignations, besides a number of others that were never regularly reported. I speak of the Army in this Quarter. We have frequently in the course of the Campaign experienced an extremity of want. Our Officers are in general indecently defective in Cloathing. Our Men are almost naked, totally unprepared for the inclemency of the approaching season. We have no magazines for the Winter; the mode of procuring our supplies is precarious, and all

the reports of the Officers employed in collecting them are gloomy.

These circumstances conspire to show the necessity of immediately adopting a plan that will give more energy to Government, more vigor and more satisfaction to the Army. Without it we have every thing to fear. I am persuaded of the sufficiency of our resources if properly directed.

Should the requisitions of Congress by any accident not arrive before the Legislature is about to rise, I beg to recommend that a plan be devised, which is likely to be effectual, for raising the Men that will be required for the War, leaving it to the Executive to apply it to the Quota which Congress will fix, I flatter myself however the requisition will arrive in time.

The present Crisis of our Affairs appears to me so serious as to call upon me as a good Citizen to offer my sentiments freely for the safety of the Republic. I hope the motive will excuse the liberty I have taken. I have the honor etc.<sup>21</sup>

[N.H.H.S.]

21. The text is from the circular sent to New Hampshire and is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

TO BE ADDED TO THE LETTER OF DELAWARE

P.S. The foregoing is circular to the several states. Having received no return of your regiment since the affair of Campden, I have it not in my power to transmit any. I can only observe that my accounts make it probable it is greatly reduced. There are in Lee's corps Thirty eight men belonging to your state. I beg leave to suggest that the readiest way to obtain a perfect Return will be by application of your Excellency to the commanding Officer with the Regt.<sup>22</sup>

P.S. to the State of Maryland.

The foregoing is Circular to the several States. I have it not in my power to transmit a very accurate return of the Troops of your State, but I send the best I have received since the late affair at Campden; in which however the remains of the Delaware Regiment are included without being distinguished. I beg leave to suggest that the readiest way to obtain a more perfect one, will be by application from your Excellency to Major General Smallwood.<sup>23</sup>

[MD. H.S.]

P.S. to the States of Virginia and North Carolina.

The foregoing is circular to the several states. The circumstances of your line put it out of my power to transmit a return.

22. The draft of this P. S., which is in the *Washington Papers*, is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton and Tench Tilghman.

23. This P.S., from a photostat of the original circular sent to Maryland, is in the writing, as is the circular itself, of Caleb Gibbs.

P.S. To Pensylvania.

The foregoing is circular to the several states. The observation I make in the first paragraph respecting the comparative strength of the troops would mislead, if applied to your line; for you have a much larger proportion of troops for the war than most of the other states. The Men belonging to Pensylvania in Hazen's regiment is not included in the return I send you, because I believe it will be the intention of Congress to keep this regiment up upon a distinct establishment.<sup>24</sup>

#### **To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED**

[Hd. Qrs. Passaic Falls, October 19, 1780.]

[Sir: With respect to] Prisoners of War [mentioned in yr. Excellency's Letter of the 3d. Instt. I beg leave to observe that it has] been my wish from the beginning of the contest to the present day, that no distinction should exist with respect to them; that the whole should be considered on one general and liberal scale as belonging to the States, and not to this or that State; be exchanged according to their rank and the order of their captivity; and that all military prisoners taken from the Enemy, no matter where or by whom, should be deemed as belonging to the public at large and be applied generally for the release of those in the Enemy's hands. This has been my wish because it appeared to be just and the only principle which could give general satisfaction. In conformity to it, all exchanges

24. The draft of this P.S., which is in the *Washington Papers*, is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

The drafts of the P. S's are on a single sheet and are indorsed by Tilghman that the circular was sent "The 20th by Colo. Neilson to the State of Jersey." A photostat of the circular to Connecticut, from

the original in the Connecticut State Library, is also in the Library of Congress. It is in the writing of David Humphreys.

in the course of the War resting solely with me and made by my direction, have been conducted, and it has been my constant direction where the point depended wholly on me, that the prisoners with the Enemy were to be exchanged agreeable to it. Particular cases however may arise when it may be proper to depart from the principle; but these can be but rare, and the principle where the business was entirely with me, has never been deviated from in a single instance.

As to the case of Lt Colo Simcoe and Lt Colo Connolly, the former was captured by the Jersey Militia before the Resolution passed which you inclose, was confined by the State, who also made his exchange; the exchange of the latter was directed in consequence of a requisition by the State of Maryland who claimed him, to the Honble Board of War, who thought their claim was just. This State claimed it on the examples and practice of some other States in like cases, who had made exchanges without the interference or consulting any but their own authority. When I received the Board's Letter upon the subject, I informed them (tho I directed the exchange for the reasons I have mentioned and the considerations subjoined) "that previous to their Letter I had supposed that *Citizens or Inhabitants* captured by the Enemy were the Objects to whom the Act meant a preference should be given, and that *all Officers* in captivity were to stand upon a common footing to be released on the principle of priority of capture." But as the terms of the act were not entirely explicit and the opinion of the Board was in favor of the claim; the sentiments I entertained of Lt Colo Ramsay's merit and indeed the

recollection of the day of his capture, his conduct upon the occasion and the whole circumstances by which he was placed in a situation that exposed him to more than a common risk of falling or being taken determined me not to oppose the measure. I have upon the present occasion attended minutely to the Act, and I am fully persuaded from a recurrence to some of my correspondences on the subject of it, long previous to its being passed, that my ideas of it were right and that the construction and operation I supposed it should have, was the true one. The Draft of it I find was in my possession for consideration, so far back as the summer 79, as a Regulation intended for placing

the business of prisoners and their exchanges upon a different footing from what it then was, and I returned it with this observations, that the Regulations appeared judicious and proper, such as I had a long time wished to see take place; adding that it appeared to be the intention to make a distinction between *prisoners* and *prisoners of War*, which was no doubt a proper and necessary one. Under the first I meant to comprehend Citizens and Civil characters not usually considered or made prisoners of exchange, but whom nevertheless the Enemy were seizing and taking whenever they could in order to release their Officers in our hands. Under the last, Officers and Soldiers of the Army or Militia actually taken in Arms. It was the practice of the States to exchange the former for Military prisoners and particular Officers out of the order of their captivity, for Officers they had taken, that excited the clamour and dissatisfaction among the Officers in general who were prisoners. I think there should be

no preference under the idea of state Captures, with respect to the exchanges of *Military* prisoners. The terms of the act seem to require it. I think it was the intention, and if it should have a different operation it does not remove, at least but in a very remote and partial degree, the causes which were complained of and which appear evidently on examination from the introduction to have been the mischiefs intended to be remedied; but on the contrary it would sanction partial or State exchanges of Officers and only change the mode of carrying the business into execution, by placing it in the hands of the Continental Commissary instead of the Commissaries of the Individual States.

And I am to observe further that the Resolution of Congress by which I am authorised to go into exchanges, now in contemplation to be carried into effect, points out and directs priority of capture as a governing principle. I have been thus particular for your satisfaction. I will now proceed to the case of Major Murray. I recollect the Board of War informed me last fall, that his brother had applied to them for his exchange for Major Stein, who had been captured by a Vessel belonging to him and in consequence of his having turned over a very considerable number of prisoners taken by her for public benefit and the exchange of prisoners in general. The Board thought it reasonable and so did I and from the peculiar circumstances of the case, that our prisoners would readily agree to



the measure and even promote it as an act required by generosity and policy and gave my consent to it. The Enemy however would not go into the exchange. The

Commissary shall be directed to attend to the case. I think the other prisoners contained in the list should not be exchanged but for those on Long Island in course, as the order of their captivity and rank apply; but I should suppose the whole will actually, or by far the greater part of them, be sunk in exchanges for Pennsylv Officers on that very principle, which will be far more eligible, as many of them, I imagine (I have not a List of the prisoners by me) must stand as early in point of capture as any in the hands of the Enemy.<sup>32</sup>

32. The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.